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TO OUR READERS:

In compliance with the Israeli military authorities, and under the guise of the much criticized "Emergency Regulations" of 1945, Al-Fajr is required to submit all material prepared for publication in this weekly, and also in the Arabic Daily and Bi-Weekly Hebrew Edition, to the Israeli censorship authorities, who use this blanket authority excessively. The material appearing on pages labeled with letters has all been censored and expunged by the Israeli authorities. We found it necessary and relevant to publish it on these pages in the foreign edition.

MILITARY PAVES WAY FOR HEBRON SETTLEMENT

The new Israeli-appointed mayor of Hebron cancelled a High Court appeal, September 21, brought by dismissed acting mayor Mustafa Natshe against the construction of an Israeli settlement in the city centre. The cancellation, by the ex-'civil administration' officer Zamir Shemesh, gave settlers the go-ahead to resume construction work which had been brought to a halt by the appeal.

The Israeli officer notified Jerusalem lawyer Arnold Spaer, who represents the municipality, that the original causes for the petition had been negated "and we therefore ask the court that the interim injunction be cancelled and the petition be dismissed without an order for expenses." The letter, which was submitted to Spaer in his office, further stated that the Israeli-run municipality had granted the settlers permits to demolish old houses in the "Jewish Quarter" and to establish new ones in their place.

Israeli settlers now occupying two buildings in the heart of Hebron began transporting mobile homes and installing them in the courtyards of abandoned houses near the Ibrahimi Mosque.

According to *The Jerusalem Post*, which carried a detailed report on the incident, Shemesh acted on orders from the defence ministry. West Bank legal analysts assert that according to Jordanian law, which still nominally prevails in the occupied territories, the appointed mayor is supposed to act independently of his superiors and work for the benefit of the residents. Lawyers point out that the pretext the Israeli 'civil administration' gave for sacking 12 West Bank and Gaza mayors was that they failed to carry out their responsibilities.

In his letter to the municipality's attorney, Shemesh stated that Hebron police investigated the demolition of houses one year ago and submitted their findings to the Israeli attorney general. *HaAretz* Hebrew daily, however, reported that no charges were brought against any of the settlers.

The Israeli military mayor's action sets in motion an Israeli government decision of last July to build a Jewish quarter in Hebron. For this purpose, the Israeli authorities authorised and funded remodelling work on buildings seized on two occasions, in 1980 and in 1983. The Dabboyya building, a two-storey old-style house, was seized and occupied by settlers in 1980, after a military attack by Palestinian commandos in which six settlers were killed. Settlers also took the opportunity of the March 1982 demonstrations, following the dismissal of several West Bank mayors, to take control of the Usama Ben Munqeth boys school building. Before being transferred to settlers, the two buildings were held by military authorities and used as military outposts.

The Israeli government's latest accommodation to the settlers was the transfer of the district's bus station to settler control. The transfer was made after the assassination of a settler in the city. After placing a military unit at the bus station, the authorities decided to transfer it to the settlers.

Peace Now movement, which demonstrated against settlers' attempts to restart reconstruction last September, issued a strongly worded statement denouncing the Israeli measure. The statement described the Israeli mayor's decision to cancel the High Court appeal as a style of "destroy and inherit." The statement also warned that "bringing settlers into Hebron is like bringing the Phalangists into the Shouf mountains in Lebanon."

Peace Now's Jerusalem spokesman, Amiram Goldblum, further said that they plan to take measures to try to stop the settlers should they resume construction work.

Hebron's Acting Mayor, Mustafa Natshe, who succeeded to the post after the deportation of Mayor Fahd Qawasmeh, said that the Israeli mayor's decision did not surprise him. "This is why the authorities dissolved the municipal council and replaced it with an Israeli officer," he said.

The elected municipal council of Hebron resorted to the Israeli High Court after Israeli settlers from Kiryat Arba and the Dabboyya building in Hebron started to demolish abandoned houses in the vicinity of the Ibrahimi Mosque. The settlers' actions, which were unauthorised, threatened existing Arab structures and property in the

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LEBANON REACHES FOR NATIONAL RECONCILIATION

By Livia Rokach
Our Rome Correspondent

Although the heavy US military intervention in Lebanon forced the resistance forces to pull back from positions already conquered in Souq al-Gharb to surrounding positions, they still continued to besiege the Lebanese troops throughout the week, shelling them and preventing them from receiving supplies. There have been no other significant military changes on the ground in the past seven days in the mountain regions. The Shi'ite-held front in the southern suburbs of Beirut has, on the other hand, been consolidated, with the resistance forces finally succeeding in establishing contact between the mountain and Beirut fronts in Shuaifat after heavy fighting which dislodged the Lebanese Army from Mreije.

During this past week, desertion from the Lebanese Army of both Druze and Shi'ite soldiers reached an unprecedented peak, evaluated in the thousands. Throughout Beirut, army checkpoints have been ordered to stop and arrest deserters, on the basis of endless lists. Visitors to the kind of "mini-republic" established throughout the southern Beirut area extending from Bir al-Abed to Chi'a, Burj al-Barajneh and Haret Hraik, completely controlled by Amal, have been able to see these former soldiers, many still circulating in what used to be their uniforms. All are armed with brand new weapons supplied by the US to the Lebanese Army and are organising the resistance positions and fighting from them.

What has undoubtedly accelerated the desertion phenomenon has been the large number of civilian casualties caused by the US naval shellings despite and beyond the massive US propaganda about the "perfect precision" of the sophisticated equipment used to hit "exclusively military targets." Hours before the announcement of the cease-fire, for example, over a dozen civilians were killed in Aley, near the French Catholic school, from a barrage of at least 20 five-inch shells fired by the 'Virginia' missile carrier.

The effects of the power policy exercised by the US-led

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Members of the Lebanese Military Committee on their way to the first national reconciliation meeting Septemebr 28: from left to right, Amal movement representative Ayoub Hmaid; National Salvation Front representative Sharif Fayyad; Colonel Jean Nassif of the Lebanese Army; and Jean Ghanim, reprentative of the Phalangist forces.

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CEASE-FIRE

Western forces involved in Lebanon have been counterproductive in respect to the political goals coveted by Washington. This is even more evident when one examines closely the terms of the cease-fire agreement reached after 30 days of fighting, as even the Lebanese rightists and the Gemayel regime itself are discovering to their dismay in these hours.

In fact, the Lebanese president, left completely out of the negotiations in the last phase, was presented, Sunday afternoon, with a "take it or leave it" offer. He was asked to accept wholesale, except for one minor detail, the same package deal he rejected three weeks before at the outset of the 'mountain war' when it was proposed by the National Salvation Front committee president and PSP Druze leader Walid Jumblatt. Ironically, despite the vast internationalisation of the Lebanese civil war, due to his own strong claims for Western military support, Amin thus finds himself today in an infinitely weaker position. He is weaker not only militarily but also politically, exposed not only to growing popular opposition but also to the open antagonism of his own domestic friends and allies.

The agreement announced Sunday evening in Damascus defines in the introductory paragraph the goal of a "global national accord" as having to be based on a "permanent platform of inter-communitarian coexistence," on "guarantees for the re-establishment of Lebanese sovereignty over the entire national territory" and on "the institution of a balanced system of government." In simple language, these three points mean: a revision of the 1943 French-sponsored "national pact" which accorded the Maronite oligarchy absolute power to one which presents demographic realities; the invalidation of the May 17 Israeli-Lebanese agreement, in addition to the withdrawal of foreign forces; and, most clearly, the renunciation by the Phalangist power of its hegemonic designs.

On September 26, in Damascus, Walid Jumblatt declared that the resistance struggle "will go on, with all means available and under all possible forms, until a new national pact, deprived of political or confessional hegemonies will be achieved." In Beirut, the prevalent feeling is that the enormity of what is at stake today for the great majority of Lebanese and for the very survival of the country, and beyond, leaves little probability of fascist surrender as long as the present power continues to be backed by the West's massive force. In Washington, the Reagan administration more than ever insists on wishing to transform Lebanon into a major strategic bastion of its empire, regardless of the national or regional problems involved. The cease-fire, under these conditions, seems to represent not much more than an interval, with the following phase open to any development — the best, or the worst.

The cease-fire agreement is articulated in the four following points:

1) A complete cease-fire on the positions presently held by the parties, under the supervision of neutral observers; the possibility for all the refugees since 1975 to return to their places of origin; practical measures to aid populations in emergency situations.

2) A security committee composed of the fighting parties — the army, the rightist Lebanese Front, the National Salvation Front and Amal — will define the norms of application of the cease-fire.

3) An urgent conference with the participation of all the parties, to be presided over by Amin Gemayel, will begin immediate negotiations on the achievement of a global national accord. The conference will be attended by the president of the Lebanese Front, Camille Chamoun, the president of the Phalangist Party, Pierre Gemayel, the leaders of the National Salvation Front Walid Jumblatt, Rashid Karami and Suleiman Franjieh, Amal leader Nabih Berri, and Saeb Salem (pro-US and close to Gemayel), Raymond Edde (like Franjieh, an anti-Phalangist Maronite, supporter of the national resistance, but hostile to Syria) and former Shi'ite president of the parliament Adel Asseirane. In addition, Amin Gemayel will be flanked by one government minister and one member of parliament.

4) The conference will likewise be attended by a delegate of Saudi Arabia and of Syria.

ISRAELI CASUALTIES INCREASE AS RESISTANCE CONTINUES

Two Israeli soldiers were wounded, September 27, in an explosion near Marjayoun in South Lebanon. The military attack, which was overshadowed by the fighting in the Shouf, came despite extensive Israeli measures to reduce the casualty toll, which rose sharply since the pullback to the Awali River.

An Israeli military spokesman who reported the incidents said that the explosives device was detonated by remote control, just as a military patrol consisting of a jeep and a transport vehicle passed on a dirt road. Israeli soldiers blocked all traffic on roads leading to the area of the attack. A large number of soldiers conducted a search for the attackers.

The military attack came in the midst of a large-scale campaign of arrests against Palestinian and Lebanese residents in various parts of South Lebanon. Since the campaign began two weeks ago, more than 260 people were abducted and led to a new military compound in Marjayoun, where separatist Sa'ad Haddad has headquarters. The reports said that among the arrestees were ex-Ansar prisoners.

Palestinian fighters holding out in Beqa'a

The achievement of a cease-fire in Lebanon, fragile as it may be, is being paid for by the Palestinian fighters still holding out in the Beqa'a and the Shouf mountains.

In a short telephone interview with a US correspondent, Abu Jihad, deputy commander-in-chief of the Palestinian forces in Tripoli, Lebanon, told us that the Palestinian forces are being pushed farther north into Lebanon by units of the Syrian Army. "With the advent of the cease-fire," he said, "serious attempts are being made to exclude us from the picture." The Palestinian forces and their military and political leaders in Lebanon are very careful not to shed Arab and Palestinian blood, exerting strident efforts not to resort to military confrontations with the Syrian army. Confirmed reports from the Beqa'a attest that three Palestinian military leaders were put under arrest by Syrian forces and that about 1500-2000 Palestinian fighters are encircled by Syrian tanks. Water and food supplies, *The Washington Post* reported yesterday, are not reaching them.

The PLO and Fatah leaders in the Beqa'a are continuing to search for a solution to this last PLO-Syrian Army confrontation. The Palestinian news agency (WAFA) reported today from Tripoli that members of the PFLP-GC of Ahmad Jibril attempted this morning to seize Fatah bases at the Beddawi camp in Tripoli. PFLP-GC is backed by the Syrian Army and is now allied with the Abu Musa group, holding out in the Beqa'a since early May of this year.

UNRWA Office Destroyed In Lebanon

UNRWA's Lebanon field office was destroyed in the recent fighting according to the latest Agency newsletter, a monthly publication.

Although most UNRWA operations have been able to continue during the recent fighting in Lebanon, some operations have been disrupted and road contact between Beirut and South Lebanon cut.

On September 6, the Lebanon field office suffered minor damage from shelling and remained closed until September 8.

During the past several weeks, many staff members have had difficulty in reaching the field office. On September 4, a car bomb explosion severely damaged UNRWA's Jerusalem School near Burj al-Barajneh camp in Beirut, the newsletter said.

The letter also announced the completion of a number of self-help projects in the West Bank. Projects included: concreting roofs at several schools; asphalting or concreting playgrounds at schools and a youth activities centre; installing electricity in six classrooms; replacing a zinc roof at Am'ari Boys School; plastering a room at Kalandia Boys School; and fitting wire mesh to windows at Fawwar schools.

The Agency contribution amounted to US$7300 and the refugee community contributed US$32,600.

SAED SAYEL

September 28 marks the first anniversary of the assassination of Saed Sayel, the commander-in-chief of the Palestinian forces. Sayel was killed in an ambush in the Beqa'a valley. He orchestrated the defence of Beirut during the 80-day Israeli siege last summer. The identity of his assassins is not yet known.

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HEBRON

area. The municipality obtained, at the time, an interim injunction which prohibited work until the court gave a final verdict. The first High Court session was due to take place on September 26.

A study by Plia Albeck of the Israeli government's State Attorney office indicated this week that construction of a Jewish quarter in the centre of Hebron is illegal. Albeck said that even though some property belongs to Jews, the owners are scattered all over the world and confiscating the land would be illegal.

Uri Avneri, editor-in-chief of *HaOlam HaZe*, sent a telegramme to Israeli Minister of Defence Moshe Arens, September 24, demanding that the cancellation of the appeal of Hebron's elected municipality to the High Court against the construction of an Israeli settlement in the city centre be revoked.

Avneri told *Al Fajr* "The ex-'civil-administration' officer-*cum*-mayor Zamir Shemesh proves, by adopting these procedures, that he is not a true mayor who serves the interests of the Palestinian residents of Hebron. The appointed mayor of Hebron is only implementing the schemes of the settlers in Hebron, whose goal is to throw the Arabs out of the city."

THIS WEEK'S CENSORSHIP

Following is a breakdown of censorship cuts for issue 178, September 30, 1983:

Number of original articles submitted to censors	**15**
Number of articles totally censored out	**1**
Number of articles partially censored but used	**3**
Number of articles passed	**11**

GRENADES HIT TWO PATROLS IN JABALIA

Two hand grenades were thrown at Israeli patrols in Jabalya refugee camp, Gaza, in separate incidents, September 17 and 19.

Camp residents said both attacks occurred at 8:00 pm against foot patrols in the narrow streets of the camp. Dozens of soldiers blocked off the areas surrounding the site of the attacks after each incident and randomly rounded up youths in the vicinity. There were no reports of casualties. Israeli soldiers imposed tight security measures after each attack . . . . . .

The week before, an Israeli soldier was wounded when a hand grenade was thrown at the Israeli 'civil administration' in Gaza.

Jabalya camp, with a population of 45,000 the largest in the Gaza Strip, has been coming under increasingly heavy Israeli military scrutiny since schools opened earlier this month. Large numbers of troops have been posted in the camp, locals say. . . . . .

Nablus Grenade Attack

Two Israeli soldiers and three Nablus residents were slightly injured by a grenade thrown at a group of soldiers in the city centre, September 25. Thirty residents were arrested in the random round-up that followed. Curfew was clamped on the city for one day and four shops in the city centre were ordered closed for three months. The shops belong to Said Samaru, Mohammed Asoubeh, Said Asfour and Samir al-Masri.

According to eyewitnesses, the explosion occurred at 9:30 am, near the municipal building. There was an immediate panic, and people began rushing in all directions. Israeli soldiers immediately announced a curfew over loudspeakers and within moments the commercial quarter and the surrounding residential areas were emptied and shops closed.

During the curfew, orders closing the stores near the site of the attack were issued and the nearby service taxi stations for Balata and Askar refugee camps moved permanently from the city centre to an area next to the police station. . . . . .

Group transport now needs military approval

Israeli military authorities informed Ramallah transport company owners, September 15, of new regulations which will effectively restrict transport for social, cultural and political activities by making group travel a security issue. The new military regulations require prior notification and permits for trips outside the normal route of operation for buses and when four people or more hire a taxi.

More than 15 transport company owners were summoned to Ramallah military headquarters, September 15, to meet an Israeli officer called Faris, said to be one of the deputies to the 'civil administrator'. One taxi company owner, who did not want to be identified, told *Al Fajr* that the officer began by speaking about "coexistence and the military authorities' role in promoting that." He then addressed the meeting on the "need to maintain order and calm, especially during the *al-Adha* feast."

Many owners reportedly expressed strong objection when the officer told them the military must be contacted whenever four or more people hire a taxi. The officer, however, threatened to punish those who do not comply with the order. Many company owners described the authorities' new regulation as "ridiculous." "Who is going to phone the military governor whenever a car goes out," one taxi driver questioned sarcastically.

For bus company owners, the order obliges them to ask permission directly from the military authorities for private trips. In the past, bus owners were required to obtain such permits from the transportation department, which is run by Arab employees under an Israeli officer. Permits were usually given, but the military authorities kept a file on who went where. The new regulations give the military authorities prior information and the prerogative of denying a permit. The new regulations, which are not distributed to lawyers and do not have to be made public, were apparently not implemented in any other West Bank city. . . . . .

BETHLEHEM UNIVERSITY AT 10 YE ARS

A week of festival activities on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the establishment of Bethlehem University started September 25 with a mass at the Church of the Nativity led by the Vatican representative William Caro.

They then held an open house at 3:30 pm for 800 visitors, including foreign consuls from East Jerusalem, teachers, school prinicipals and others concerned with education in the West Bank, who came to see scientific, calligraphic and business administration exhibitions.

On "Students' Day", September 26, honour degrees were given to students who got an average of 90 percent or more. At the opening ceremony, Brother Thomas, the vice chancellor, told students and faculty that Bethlehem University could not exist without them and he urged the 1200 students to work hard, to seriously continue the academic march and to carry out the objectives of the Palestinian people.

Bethlehem University was established by the Vatican in 1973. It started with 85 students and 20 teachers in arts, sciences, and hotel administration. Over the past 10 years, the university was enlarged to contain arts, sciences, nursing, business administration, education, hotel administration and a series of two year programmes in training pre-school teachers and rural health educators.

Musa Darwish, the university spokesman, told *Al Fajr* that the university offered this year a new major in training teachers for the elementary level, the first of its kind in the whole of the Arab world.

Bethlehem University was recognised in 1981 as a member in the Arab Universities Union and its degrees are now accepted internationally. The AUU delayed recognition for several years, arguing that its administration was not Palestinian. Recognition came after Dr Michael Sabah became chancellor.

Bethlehem University, like others on the West Bank, receives funds from the Arab countries through the Council of Higher Education.

Court Demands Explanation For Settlers' Vandalism

Israeli High Court in Jerusalem issued an order *nisi*, September 26, against the police, the West Bank's commander and the Israeli Kohav Shemron construction company demanding they explain why they do not abide by the law and stop settlers from harassing Saif Abd al-Rahman Bahloul, a resident of Deir Istia village, Nablus district. The order *nisi* demands the authorities concerned give their explanation within 30 days.

Saif Bahloul has been harassed continuously by settlers in the vicinity for the last two years. Kohav Shemron's people work his land and settlers pester him to sell his 300-dunum plot. Sources from Deir Istia reported that the settlers in the ultra-religious Emmanuel settlement, near Nablus, want to lay another access road to the settlement through Bahloul's land. The same sources reported that the settlers damaged fruit trees, beat up the land owner and his family and vandalised the property. In the court's session, the government's legal advisor admitted that he had received no notification or complaint from the police regarding the settlers' violation of law. On February 6, 1982, lawyer Felicia Langer applied to the High Court demanding that appropriate measures be taken against the vandals, and in return for the lawyer's application Israeli authorities promised that the law would be maintained and respected. Contrary to their promises, sources from the village affirmed, Israeli authorities appointed Sargeant Moshe Biton to the case. (Biton was convicted of beating a Palestinian prisoner in Fara'a prison three months ago). Biton himself encouraged Bahloul to sell his land and did not prevent Kohav Shemron construction company from working on Bahloul's land.

On May 12, 1982, the Nablus magistrate court declared Saif Bahloul owner of his 300-dunum plot. After the failure of official and non-official efforts to convince Bahloul to sell out, Israeli authorities resorted to the Jordanian law and issued an order, June 9, 1982, stating that Bahloul's land was confiscated "in the public interest." Bahloul's lawyer is pursuing this case in the High Court, demanding that the Nablus magistrate court's decision be implemented and the military order cancelled.

According to legal sources in Jerusalem, only 35 percent of West Bank land is registered with the Israeli Land Registration Department. Settlers from Barak and Brooklyn settlements and 50,000 visitors participated, September 26, in the opening ceremony in Emmanuel settlement, which hopes to attract hundreds of Israelis because of its excellent climate and location, and ultra-religious ideology.

In a speech to the gathering, settlement financier David Levi, the Israeli housing minister and deputy prime minister, stated that the settlement issue "stands in the way of national unity between the Labour Alignment and the Likud." Levi said the government will not stop constructing settlements in the West Bank, which he called the land of Israel. The new settlement will house 400 families, and another 2080 flats will be added to the new settlement during the coming winter months. Levi disclosed that 51 settlements were built during the Alignment's rule (1967 to 1977) and 185 settlements have been constructed under the Likud since 1977. (Translation: Al Ittihad, September 28, 1983).

Hebron prisoners still on strike

Palestinian detainees in Hebron prison are still refusing to accept mail or recieve family visits as long as conditions in the prison are not improved.

Conditions are worsening in spite of continuous promises by prison officials for improvements. Fourteen people are put in one room built to accommodate six prisoners. Prison authorities asked detainees to share beds.

Prisoners have been threatened with harsh treatment if they do not end the strike. The prisoners' demands, which led to the strike which began September 1, include an improvement in health conditions and immediate medical treatment for the ill, demolishing the wall recently erected in the middle of the yard, improving the quality of food and daily physical exercise, allowing books into the rooms and alleviating the severe overcrowding. (Translation: Al Fajr, September 29, 1983).

BIR'IM PROTESTS 35 YEARS OF EXILE

Former Palestinian residents of the village of Bir'im and their children demonstrated, September 24, to protest the authorities' refusal to allow them to return to their village and reconstruct their destroyed houses. Bir'im was evacuated by Zionist militiamen on the promise that residents would be allowed to return once hostilities ceased.

Over 400 protesters marched through the deserted streets of the village carrying placards and banners and heard speakers denounce the broken promises of Israeli politicians.

Yusef Daqwar, member of the *Abna' al-Awda* (The Sons of Return) movement which organises Bir'imites, demanded "justice and democracy" and condemned successive government's policy of keeping them out of their homes.

Yusef El-Gazi, from the Israeli League for Civil and Human Rights, said: "I came here to renew the commitment and to support you in your just demand." El-Gazi affirmed that it is possible that the demands of the Palestinian residents will be achieved in future and the residents of the village will then reconstruct their houses.

Binyamin Gounin, from the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality, Nayef Salim, from the Druze Initiative Committee, Issa Shaqour, Mtanis Ayoub, Fawzi Daqwar, and Toni Andraus also spoke. Several telegrammes from Arab student committees were sent to the *Abna' al-Awda* committee which arranged the protest.

Ramzi Khouri told *Al Fajr* that the four-months-old *Abna' al-Awda* movement is pledged to "mobilise all the village residents' efforts to raise again strongly and effectively the cause of Ikrit and Bir'im." Khouri commented that the Israeli authorities succeeded in dissipating the efforts of the Ikrit residents.

Approximately 2000 residents of the two villages were told by Zionist militia leaders during the 1948 war to evacuate their villages for a few weeks to maintain the security of the borders. When the villagers attempted to go back to their homes, they were told by Israeli authorities that the evacuation was permanent.

Villagers eventually won an Israeli Supreme Court decision allowing them to go back. Then Israeli defence minister David Ben Gurion issued an order declaring that Ikrit and Bir'im were closed military areas. Bir'im is now under the control of the nature reserves authority. It takes a two-thirds Knesset majority to change the status.

Two months ago, Bir'im residents demonstrated in front of the prime minister's office in Jerusalem and held a hunger strike for two days. The strikers demanded Begin fulfill promises made during the 1977 election campaign that if he took office he would allow them to go home.

In the 1950s, a Mapam kibbutz, Baram, was built on the village's land.

Hebron's produce market, after being torched by Kiryat Arba and Hebron settlers, July 7. /JN

Peace Now presses for progress in blaze investigation

In a meeting with Israeli Defence Minister Moshe Arens, September 26, the Peace Now movement threatened it would make public information in its possession about the settlers' burning of Hebron's vegetable market in July unless there was progress in the three-month-old investigation of the incident within a week.

During the hour-and-a-half meeting, the Peace Now delegation related testimonies of reserve soldiers on patrol near Hebron on the day settlers vandalised and set the Arab-owned market afire. The delegation submitted the names of Kiryat Arba and Hebron city settlers who took part in the attack, including prominent Kiryat Arba religious leaders who reportedly fired shots in crowded areas.

The Jerusalem Post reported that Hebron police heard testimonies from policemen and soldiers who were in the city when settlers romped through the city setting fire to shops and vendors' carts on both sides of the market. The *Post* said that investigation was completed nearly one month ago, but no one has been prosecuted, nor have the files been returned for further investigation, nor have the files been closed.

The six-member delegation also told Arens of their movement's opposition to the cancellation of a High Court case made by the expelled Palestinian mayor Mustafa Natshe against Kiryat Arba settlers. The withdrawal of the case was made by the appointed mayor of Hebron, Israeli military officer Zamir Shemesh.

The delegation accused the Israeli minister of yielding to and encouraging Gush Emunim leader Rabbi Moshe Levinger, who is leading the settlement push in Hebron. They warned against the spread of settlers' vigilante activities against Palestinian residents, which they said are being carried out by armed militia groups, organised under labels of "self-defence."

The old market in Hebron, the main produce market for the district, was vandalised and set ablaze on the evening of July 7 by dozens of Israeli settlers following the assassination of a Kiryat Arba settler in the city. (Translation: Al Fajr, The Jerusalem Post, September 28, 1983).

MEDICAL APPEAL FOR PRISONER'S RELEASE

A Jerusalem lawyer appealed, September 26, to international public opinion and local institutions to press for the release of Palestinian political prisoner Nabli Khalil Shawkeh, 25, who is suffering from kidney problems and anemia.

Felicia Langer, Shawkeh's lawyer, appeal[illegible] the legal advisor of the West Bank military governor "in the name of his mother, brothers and sisters." She asked for the release of Nabil since he needs an emergency kidney transplant operation and could die.

Three weeks ago, Langer asked in vain for an official medical report on Shawkeh. Langer told *Al Fajr*: "I wonder why the authorities sometimes reduce the sentences of a criminal or murderer and refuse to release a person who deserves to be pardoned?"

Nabil Shawkeh, who is now at Ramle prison hospital, receives dialysis treatment twice a week. A clerk in Saudi Arabia, Shawkeh was sentenced to four and a half years in prison in November 1982.

HANDS ACROSS THE FENCE HONOUR KANJ

A unique and impressive memorial service marking the first week after the death of Golan leader Kamal Kanj Abu Saleh took place in the Israeli-occupied Golan Heights village of Majdal Shams, September 23. The memorial service took place at the border fence and turned into a political rally, witnessed by 15,000 people on the Syrian side of the border and 20,000 Syrians and Palestinians on the Israeli-occupied side, according to local observers. Mourners came from as far away as the Naqab, the Gaza Strip and the West Bank. It was announced that deposed mayors of Nablus and Ramallah, Bassam Shaka'a and Karim Khalef, were prevented from attending by the Israelis.

Mourners of the leading Golan nationalists were ecstatic when they learned of the arrival of Lebanese Druze leader Walid Jumblatt and Chairman of the Palestine National Council Khaled Fahoum. After the announcement, the crowd on both sides of the fence chanted nationalist slogans for half an hour; "By soul and blood we will redeem you, Walid" and "Palestine is Arab and the Golan is Syrian" were the most popular slogans.

Powerful loudspeakers were set up on both sides of the border, and eulogies to Kanj and speeches came alternatively from Syria and Majdal Shams. A representative of Syrian President Hafez al-Assad, representatives from Galilee villages, Ziad al-Atrash from the Syrian Baath party, Ali Kanaan, the district commissioner of Kuneitra, Salah Amash on behalf of the Golan Heights, Brigadier Nur al-Din Kanj, brother of the dead leader and a member of the Syrian parliament and Majd Kanj Abu Salah, son of the deceased, all spoke. Speakers from the Syrian side of the cease-fire lines praised the resistance of the residents of the occupied Golan, vowed they will never forget them and praised last year's five-and-a-half month strike in opposition to the Israeli annexation law.

The service, which was called a "national feast", lasted over five hours. The speeches were recorded and copies are to be distributed throughout the Galilee and the West Bank.

Walid Jumblatt, head of the Lebanese Progressive Socialist Party, who was in Damascus for negotiations and consultations, came to the memorial service and told the attendents: "The peoples of Palestine, Lebanon and Syria are in the same trench in fighting against oppression, racism and imperialism." Seated next to Jumblatt and among scores of Druze religious leaders, Khaled Fahoum spoke on behalf of the PLO. He praised the Syrian Druze struggle and encouraged Palestinians to "fight off occupation until victory."

Many on the Israeli-occupied side of the line heard live speeches by Palestinian, Syrian and Lebanese national leaders for the first time. One Druze resident told his Golan co-religionist, "This is the first time I feel a sense of belonging."

There was no interference in events by Israeli troops. Those in evidence remained at their border posts.

Albeck Calls Hebron Colony 'Illegal'

Israeli Deputy Attorney General, Plia Albeck, submitted a legal opinion to Attorney General Yitzhaq Zamir, last week, arguing that the construction of a Jewish quarter in Hebron is illegal, *Yediot Aharanot* reported, September 26. The justice ministry spokesman confirmed to *Al Fajr* that the ministry had been debating the legality of such actions, but denied the Israeli paper's report. He said they had not "reached a conclusion yet."

According to the Israeli press report, Albeck stated in her study that Jewish owners who abandoned their property in Hebron after 1029 have been dispersed throughout the world, hence creating a legal obstacle to acquiring land to construct a Jewish Quarter on it.

Feinberg, spokesman for the justice ministry, denied that any report had been submitted to the Israeli attorney general. He said that facts in the *Yediot Aharanot* report were incorrect. Nevertheless, he declined to "correct" them, saying that "they cannot discuss anything with the press before they reach a final conclusion."

Jewish property in Hebron which was abandoned after 1929 is limited to 24 flats, some of which are on the second floors of Arab houses. Badran Jaber, a Hebron librarian who is well-informed on the history of the city, said that the property was integrated within Arab neighbourhoods and had never been a separate quarter within the city. He explained that this property is distributed in four major areas, nine near what is now known as the clothes market. Part of the land which the municipality-owned produce market is built on was owned by Jews. The three other areas were the Dabboyya building, which is also known as the Hadassah building (it was rented out by the Jewish Womens Society, Hadassah), the Usama Ben Munqeth School building, formerly used as a British Mandate police station, and the Jewish cemetery, which is owned by the Islamic *waqf* committee and was leased to Jewish inhabitants for 99 years.

Presently, an estimated 200 Jewish settlers live in abandoned and prefabricated houses brought into the city with the consent of the Israeli military authorities.

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DEAD ENDS

In an address before a Likud election meeting, September 27, Israeli Defence Minister Moshe Arens said he "sent a message to the Druze in Lebanon that they must eject the terrorists (sic) from their midst and send them back to where they came from," according to *The Jerusalem Post* September 28. Arens continued, "If the Druze don't eject them, we will have to act."

The head of the Middle East police department, Moshe Arens, has not yet learned the lesson of this past year. His troops invaded Lebanon in June 1982 in order to change the power equation more in the favour of the ruling party in Lebanon.

All the second thoughts about the ongoing war in Lebanon since then, both within the Israeli establishment and the public, have not been enough of a deterrent for Arens. Hundreds of dead soldiers, thousands of injured, economic debts leading Israel to the brink of bankruptcy and the plunge of Ariel Sharon and Menachem Begin over a different, political brink are matters that Moshe Arens can easily ignore in a speech before friends.

But can he ignore the facts on the ground? Would the Israeli society allow him to pursue the same policy?

Perhaps because Israel is still fighting imperialist wars from the 19th century it has not benefitted from the histories of the other colonial powers which preceded it. They, however, discovered the new realities of the 20th century. Britain, France, Italy and even the USA in Indochina had to pack their bags and leave when they learned that their interference in other peoples' business complicated their own and that ultimately those peoples solved their problems the way they saw fit for them. The US found surrogates to act on its behalf. And Israel tried to – but the Phalangists could not do the job. Israel will have to learn its own lessons the hard way.

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Americans rally to support Palestinian cause

Special Correspondent
New York

Arab Americans, Palestinians and Americans who support the Palestinian cause organised activities throughout the US to commemorate the first anniversary of the massacres of Sabra and Shatila. In major American cities such as Chicago, Washington DC, New York City, Boston, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Detroit and other cities, Palestinians and Americans held rallies, meetings and mass events, expressing outrage at the occurrence of these massacres and demanding that Israel and other Lebanese Phalangists who participated in these horrible massacres be punished. These mass activities reflect a strong current among the American people who oppose continued bloodshed in the Middle East and who support the Palestinian people in their just struggle for self-determination and independence.

In Washington DC, a number of activities were held by different Arab-American and Palestinian organisations, including a two-day vigil in front of the White House, where demonstrators carried signs supporting the Palestinian people and calling for the protection of their civil and human rights. American Jews who oppose Zionism and Israeli policies joined the activities and demonstrations as well.

Naim Jaladi spoke and condemned the Begin government policies of massacre and genocide of the Palestinian people. He said Israeli officials are responsible for the Sabra and Shatila massacres and that this was part of the Israeli campaign to terrorise the Palestinian people and expel them from their land, Palestine, as well as out of Lebanon and other areas surrounding Palestine. Other American Jews participated in the press conference and the activities, including the American lawyer Mark Lane, who strongly condemned continued American military aid to Israel and warned against the American military involvement in Lebanon, which would lead to a new Vietnam in the Middle East.

At the US Congress, a number of activities took place, including an exhibit of pictures of the victims of the massacres in Sabra and Shatila as well as a panel discussion in which Dr Richard Arens, professor and brother of the Israeli defence minister, condemned the policies of the Israeli government. He said that the Kahan commission report in Israel was a farce and a cover-up and he called for an international tribunal to investigate the massacre and to hold trials for those responsible. He made an appeal to the American public to protect the human and civil rights of the Palestinian people who are suffering from what he called "near genocide" in Lebanon and the occupied territories.

In other activities in a number of American universities, speakers included American nurses and doctors who had worked in the Palestinian hospitals in West Beirut and witnessed the massacres.

Former Congressman Paul Findley, Ambassador Clovis Maksoud and PLO representatives Hassan Abd al-Rahman and Hatem Hussaini also participated in a number of these activities in Washington DC and in Chicago. Congressman Paul Findley also condemned American foreign policy and called for an end to American military aid to Israel and called on the Reagan administration to recognise the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and independence.

Some of the activities were reported in US newspapers, television and radio programmes and they reflect a general American sentiment which opposes continued war in the Middle East and seeks a just peace which could recognise the rights of the Palestinian people. Moreover, Lebanese-Americans, especially Americans of the Druze origin, are also holding rallies and demonstrations and sending telegrammes opposing the American military involvement in Lebanon, calling for the withdrawal of the US Marines and calling for a cease-fire and reconciliation in Lebanon.

Yet another cease-fire

by Ghassan Bishara
Our Washington Correspondent

Another ther cease-fire was concluded in Lebanon between that country's factions. This last cease-fire was concluded with the mediation of both Prince Bandar Ibn Sultan of Saudi Arabia and Robert McFarlane, President Reagan's special envoy to the Middle East. The cease-fire, if it holds, is to be followed by a conference of all the leaders of the various groups in Lebanon, in order to achieve national reconciliation.

The cease-fire, reached after three weeks of fighting both in the city of Beirut and the Shouf mountains, was caused by the Israeli troop redeployment south of the Awali river. The fighting erupted when Phalange forces, staunch enemies of the Lebanese Druze and the progressive Muslims in general, injected themselves, under Israeli protection, into the Shouf mountains, historically the Druze heartland. The Druze's refusal to accept Phalange forces among them is based not only on fears arising from the Phalange behaviour last year in Sabra and Shatila but also on their massacring of Druze civilians in the Shouf and of a Shi'ite family of 11 members in southwest Beirut. The Druze, according to reports from Lebanon, were not fighting to capture the presidency in Lebanon or even to impose their conditions on Gemayel but merely to survive in their region of the country, secure from massacres and humiliation.

Members of the US Druze community who held a demonstration last Saturday in front of the White House attested that the Druze are merely trying to live in peace in the Shouf mountains. Expressions of extreme host ility against US involvement were sounded by spokespersons of the group, numbering more than 500 with other Palestinian and American friends. The demonstrators carried signs calling on Reagan to withdraw the US Marines out of Lebanon and threatening that Lebanon may become the US's second Vietnam. "It is a Lebanese civil war," said a Lebanese Druze student, "and we don't know why the US Marines are taking part in it." Others at the demonstration blamed Israel for the fighting in the Shouf – by allowing Phalange forces to enter the area in the first place. The US involvement, it was argued, is being accepted by the US Congress only because it extricates Israel from a quagmire, leaving the US holding the bag.

The cease-fire went into effect Monday morning at 6:00 am Beirut time and until this writing was still holding. Within a week, as it is specified in the cease-fire, a conference is to follow in which all the leaders of the Lebanese groupings will participate, aiming at achieving a national reconciliation. The conference, which is now believed will be opened either in Jedda or Riyad, Saudi Arabia, will include Walid Jumblatt, Rashid Karameh, Suleiman Franjieh, Camille Chamoun, Pierre Gemayel, Nabih Berri, Raymond Edde, Saeb Salam and Adel Asseirane. Present also will be representatives from Saudi Arabia and Syria.

Shafiq Wazzan and Kamal Assad will not attend, as demanded by Jumblatt and Syria. The US will also not be a party to this gathering. *Al Fajr* was told yesterday by a State Department spokesperson that the US was not invited to participate but that it will continue to assist in any way possible the achievement of peace and national reconciliation.

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AL FAJR invites our readers to contribute letters, articles, and opinions. Contributions must be signed, but names may be withheld upon request.

Not only a smile . . .

Geneva: friendship behind the formalities

by Thoma Shick

An equal partner in the conference, the PLO delegation listens to the speech of its head, Farouq Kaddoumi.

There in Geneva, I spoke Hebrew loudly, as only inhabitants of Israel know how to do, almost shouting. I spoke in Hebrew with Palestinian Arabs who live in Israel, although back home I prefer to speak with them in English, for the feeling of equality it gives me. I was not afraid that the PLO would hit me for speaking Hebrew, like Israel used to warn they would. There, at the ex-territorial quarter of the UN in Geneva, we were equal, whatever language we spoke. And the Arabs could speak their language from the platform, since it is one of the six most widely spoken in the world and therefore an official language of the international organisation.

It was a great feeling of equality and gratification to be a member of the world community, worth neither less nor more than anybody else. The burden of being privileged was off my back for 10 days, between August 29 and September 9. And, of course, the Palestinians walked there in pride and self-confidence; a little bit of that pride stuck to us, inhabitants of Israel from the Jewish side who represented various factions of the real peace movement here. There was a definite appreciation sensed and expressed for the "activity of the peace forces in Israel." There was no explicit recognition of the state of Israel as such. However, Israel was recognised in two dimensions: "Israeli forces" and "peace forces in Israel". . .

Zionist "peace organisations" like Peace Now and the International Centre for Peace in the Middle East (a recent creation of the Labour Alignment) rejected the UN invitation for the conference. There is a Limit (*Yesh Gvul*) was not represented officially either because they do not have a commonly agreed upon policy. A petition signed by the NGOs attending the conference was presented to the Plenary, encouraging the resisters and calling for international support for them. This was my initiative. Other petitions called for: the release of Udi Adiv; condemned the non-participation of Israel and the US and the mere observance of some other nations; called for the restoration of normal life in Lebanon and the dismantling of Ansar; and demanded improvement of prison conditions and human rights in general in Israel and the occupied territories.

New Outlook was absent, as was a supporter of it in West Germany who last year in Frankfurt was in the preparatory commitee of a whole-Germany pro-Palestinian demonstration. Now, nobody mentioned these organisations. "The peace forces in Israel" was the term Chairman Arafat used in his speech on September 2.

> **"There is a serious lesson to learn from this conference: in the future humanist federation of the inhabitants, or whatever it will be called, we shall have to live together – not only 'Jews' and 'Arabs' but also the different factions of today's true peace movement."**

Indeed, Arafat's short contribution to the opening session of the conference caused some inconvenience among the majority of the attending Israelis, mainly the Zionists among them. He mentioned "Zionist entity" three times and once "Israeli forces" related to the invasion of Lebanon. Israel was not mentioned in his short address. Uri Avneri and his colleagues from the Israeli council immediately issued a communique to the press expressing their dislike of this. But it seems they were too fast in drawing conclusions on the first day since later on, with the full speeches of Foreign Minister Farouq Kaddoumi and Chairman Arafat, they looked much more satisfied.

Another petty inconvenience was caused by the invitations for the reception organised by the PLO. Many of the representatives from Israel did not get invitations. Whether this was deliberate or due to security arrangements (some other organisations experienced difficulties in this respect) no one knows. At a certain stage there was a rumour that Arafat had invited all the Israelis *en masse*, "because I want to sit together with them" and then it was turned off by the formal host, the head of the PLO delegation Kaddoumi. Anyway, almost all of us went. There are always ways for such things.

Arafat came, a dense crowd around him, amidst hugs, kisses, presents. I shook his hand too, "by accident". . . I was standing two metres from him, the crowd between me and him. I was wondering, evaluating the picture that I saw, how one man can catch the imagination of people, how one man symbolises so much, how love for so many human beings can be concentrated in one man. . . positive and negative. . . pro and con. . . and then, suddenly a narrow gap opened in the people between him and me, and his eyes looked into my eyes, pushing his hand towards me. I'm not a man of rituals, neither of admiration, but it was there, the hand stretched, the face smiling. I took the hand, shook it. I sensed a soft, smooth and gentle hand. . . it was amazingly soft and gentle. . . He was pushed back and forth, moving with the flow of warmth expressed for him.

The NGOs had the opportunity to attend the Plenary and the Main Conference meetings. The Drafting Committee meetings were closed. The NGOs had the opportunity to make short interventions in the Main Conference twice, and in the Plenary once. As well, each NGO could present papers to the conference.

It was the third day of the conference. The subjects were: "Obstacles on the Way to Achieve Palestinian Rights" and "Proposals for Action" – in the Main Committee. Many official delegates of the 137 attending (in some newspapers the number 76 was published. . . repeatedly!) and individual observers (the "eminents") spoke. The routine, official, formalistic, polite, descriptive but not decisive, decisive but not active, historical but not future-oriented rhetoric. Bla, bla, bla, bla. Tens of speakers, many details, much repetition, no actual proposals except for praise of "heroic battles" and condemnation of cruelties. No moves for real action. No time limits. State representatives among themselves, knowing that except for informal background talks nothing would come out of the formalities of the conference but a waste of paper.

Towards the end of the scheduled time an hour was dedicated for nine NGO representatives to make statements. The speakers were briefed to prepare two- to three-minute talks. The chairman of the session offered seven to eight minutes for each.

Then it happened. Two speakers spoke, two women, on behalf of the Inter-Parliamentarian Association and the London Group for Palestine. Short, clear cut, actual proposals. "An interim proposal: a boycott of the Israeli economy. Restrictions, as the Israeli government restricts Palestinian Arab farmers." Further: to condition any commercial contract with Israel, by all nations, with obligations on Israel to remove all restrictions from Palestinian farmers and provide them with all necessary requirements, like land, water and marketing freedom, and facilitate them with exporting provisions, etc. She ended. "After a whole day of speeches by the official delegates, the NGOs bring fresh air to this hall," stated the chairman.

It could not have been a better compliment to the NGOs, nor a worse condemnation and criticism of the diplomats. A series of other proposals followed: to effect formal resolutions (International Association for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination); all peace-loving people to object to Israeli terror against the Palestinian people (Federation of Islamic Associations); the US to stop support for Israel (International Union of Students); and Gideon Spiro of the Committee Against the War in Lebanon called on Israel to open its atomic reactor for international inspection in order to avoid nuclear dangers in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Myself, together with the Chairman of the War Resisters' International, called on the PLO to switch from violence to non-violence, in the framework of an overall PLO non-violent peace offensive.

The eminents spoke.

Many informal meetings took place in the coffee shop and elsewhere, and more official ones in closed rooms. Many contacts were made. My personal conclusion still is that the "Israeli peace forces" showed both unity and factionalism at the same time. This was sensed and expressed by some other NGO representatives as well. Some of the representatives from Israel thought only their opinion was valid and others were called "invaders" – invading the "privacy of international representation of the peace movement" – by them.

I think there is a serious lesson to learn from this conference: in the future humanist federation of the inhabitants, or whatever it will be called, we shall have to live together - not only "Jews" and "Arabs" but also the different factions of today's true peace movement. There are many more factions than those represented in the Geneva conference. Furthermore, there certainly will be some "Zionists" in that population, hopefully of the "moderate" sort. All of us will have to live together in peace and equality, whatever our individual and group ideologies. Let's hope that not only formalities will come from the International Conference on the Question of Palestine but also an atmosphere.

. . . With a smile.
—Thoma

Liberal Evangelicals approach the Palestine question

De-nationalising the Bible

by Daoud Kuttab

Among US Christian denominations, evangelicals are included among the strongest supporters of Reagan Middle East policy-making. Because of prominent evangelist Jerry Falwell and his group, Moral Majority, most observers of the 'evangelical scene' in the US assume that all American evangelists, the broad spectrum of Christians who emphasise personal salvation, are staunch supporters of Israel.

Two US Baptist Church officials who have been visiting the region as part of a 20-member delegation sponsored by the Palestine Human Rights Campaign (PHRC) refuted this idea. The US delegation was accompanied by PHRC director Reverend Donald Wagner.

Al Fajr *met with the two Baptist Church officials, Dr Raymond J Bakke, professor of Ministry at the Northern Baptist Theological Seminary (Northern American Baptists), international co-ordinator for large cities and member of the Lausanne Committee for World Evangelisation, and John Paul Holsey, director of church extension of the Chicago Metropolitan Baptist Association (Southern Baptist).*

The ministers spoke about the position of their church towards the Palestinians, Israel, Falwell's ideology and the US domestic support for Israel. Below are excerpts from the discussion:

Bakke: Who I am and what I am doing here: I have been aware from day one that the Church has been here. That Christ was an Asian Christ who grew up in this place. A Jew who lived in Nazareth and lived in Egypt and has roots in this land. Although the first people who believed were Jewish, very early the church was both Greek and Jewish. The first council of the church was a struggle to sort out faith and culture or ethnicity — to decide whether you have to make people Jewish in order to make them into Christians — and the church said no. So from the very start the church was pluralistic, multiethnic and Asian. And I have been interested in the first churches in cities and so I went to Cairo and studied the different churches. I studied how the Christian church in Africa, from the Western Sahara to Eritrea — one fourth of Christendom — was lost. Why did the Christians in north Africa receive Islam as liberation?

That is how I came to the Middle East, but later I was drawn into the political aspects.

anger of a West Bank mayor it is very much like the anger of black pastors and civic officials who we are living with.

Holsey: I am with the home mission board with the Southern Baptist convention and I work in Chicago as director of Church extension. So of course I have urban concerns working in a metropolitan area like Chicago. Recently I have been interested in conflict resolution — how to be a peace maker. The constituency I work with, Southern Baptist, worships in 14 different languages, so we have a lot of conflict to manage. I thought that by coming to the Middle East I might look at models of how people are coping and dealing with adversities.

I am also interested in understanding how oppressed people go about the mission of the church, what keeps them going under these conditions.

I did not come on the typical Holy Land tour. I gave up equating the Israel of the Bible with the modern state of Israel long ago for other reasons. I am trying to understand oppression. Not only how the oppressed people are in bondage but also the people who are doing the oppressing who are caught up in the same sort of problem.

Also, coming from the inner city we can see the systemic problems. That, for example, it is not the individual Israeli or the individual Palestinian, or *vice versa*, but there is a macro system that everybody is caught up with. So if there is any kind of liberation, any kind of justice, there is going to have to be a dealing not only with the Palestinian people but the Israeli people, the Israeli government, the US government, and the multinational businesses involved.

Al Fajr: **As Baptist theologians, where do you stand and what are your positions on the major issues of the Middle East?**

Bakke: I would try to be fair, to listen to both sides. I take as a fact the existence of the state of Israel. I think as a UN-recognised state it has a right to exist within secure boundaries — not expansionist boundaries. I also take as a primary fact the existence of the Palestinian rights to self-determination and to compensation for land that was taken from them to create the state of Israel. I also take Jerusalem to be an international city, bigger than both entities. It is a symbolic city, where three major faiths are invested. I don't think of it as a Jewish city. I don't think of it as just a Palestinian city. And I haven't heard anybody do that on this tour. Jerusalem is a very sacred spot — it connects all of us. As an outsider, I am not trying to promote this idea, but as a person I feel that everybody has a vested interest in Jerusalem. It is Jerus Shalom — it is to some extent to be the city of peace, where humanity and dialogue come together.

I like to differentiate from Falwell in that I don't want the United States to make Israel a client state. I really resent my tax money being used for military purposes that are inconsistent with the American Bill of Rights and the American Constitution. I reject the *carte blanche* approach. So, obviously I deeply resent that our government is building settlements for people in occupied territory which is against, as I understand it, the Geneva Convention and certainly unnecessary.

I deeply resent the offensive use of American planes, which congressional legislation has specifically stated can only be used defensively.

Of course I have my quarrels with our Congress — their inability to stand up to principle and the American president. I didn't vote for him. I think that to some extent the militarisation of our foreign policy is a great tragedy which is part of the Republican platform — I happen to be in the other party.

Holsey: I support what Ray (Bakke) outlined on the Palestinian-Israeli problem. In regards to Jerry Falwell and other Southern Baptists, I know of no Southern Baptist agency employee, no Southern Baptist editor or a paper (now there might be, but I don't know of them) who are supportive of Jerry Falwell and the Moral Majority. In fact, the Moral Majority is giving the Southern Baptist convention a lot of internal fits. I reject Falwell's idea of weaning American national manifest destiny in nationhood with Christianity tied up with the end of the world. I see it that Christ broke down the dividing wall, and that my response as a Christian to the nation I belong to is to be critical and evaluate the situation of the US, Israel, and the PLO, seeking to call them to justice. So I too am very upset with the pouring of dollars into militarisation of Israel. And Israel's ability to stand is based on the US. The whole question of security by military power needs to be questioned in all nations.

Al Fajr: **Which are the Falwell Baptist churches and what are their beliefs?**

Bakke: They are mostly independent or probably fundamentalist churches which assume a one-to-one relationship between the Israel of the Bible and the Israel of today. As far as they are concerned, Israel can do no wrong, and they have a very strong commitment to dispensational theology (a strand of fundamentalist theology emphasising the end of the world and assigning central roles to Jews and the modern state of Israel within Christian theology). This you will find more in the independent and fundamentalist network of Baptists, the prophecy conferences and the use of prophecy to speak against Arabs on the behalf of Israel.

I think that what is new in Falwell is not the view that Israelis are the chosen people. This has been around for a long time. What is new is that here you have a person who claims to be a Baptist but who believes in wrapping the Gospel (Bible) in a national flag.

Falwell is tying America to the Jewish state in a way that no American up to now would have done because Baptists were weaned on the idea of separation between church and state. We fought to keep society secular; we fought to keep prayer out of public

Chicago Metropolitan Baptist Association
JOHN PAUL HOLSEY

"My response as a Christian to my nation is to be critical of the situation of the US, Israel and the PLO, seeking to call them to justice.

The question of security by military power needs to be questioned in all nations."

school because prescribed prayers in the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries were written by state church people and they were using the public school system against our folks.

Al Fajr: **How does Falwell view the very basic human rights violations committed against Palestinians here?**

Holsey: In the name of security, you just do not hear of these things. The issue is security — a secure America, so that Americans can continue to be involved in mission efforts and to be a bulwark against communism and the communist 'boogey-man'. The feeling is that the Arabs obviously line up with the Soviet Union. No discussion whatsoever of Christian Arabs.

Bakke: The only civil rights they advocate is the ability to worship in Russia or to emigrate from Russia, or things like teaching 'creationism' (a belief that the world came about exactly as described in the Bible) and the right-to-life (anti-abortion), which is the bridge they have with the Catholics.

Al Fajr: **So how did you counter Falwell on the theological level?**

Bakke: First, I think that Jesus did away with the idea of 'chosen'. St. Paul said there is no difference between Jew or Greek, woman or man, slave or free man. Therefore I would see myself as wanting these boundaries obliterated. There is no chosen nation any more. Theologically, then, I do not accept that the Israel of today is in continuity with the Israel of the past, or that they have biblical rights that other nations do not have.

I think that all nations are to uphold by the ten commandments. They are to honour God. Calvin and Luther (the Protestant pioneers) said that commandments apply equally to both person and state. I would agree with that.

northern baptist theological seminary
DR RAYMOND J BAKKE
PROFESSOR OF MINISTRY

"There is no chosen nation anymore. I do not accept the Israel of today as continuous with the Israel of the past."

As an urban pastor working in the inner city, most of my congregation is poor. We have a mixed language and racial group. I have an adopted black son, so we are an interracial family. So to some extent we have experienced life from the inside and I think I can empathise with the injustice issues of the West Bank and the Middle East just because it is familiar. When you hear the

1982-83: An unsettled academic year

by Hanna Assadi

The university year is commencing in fits and starts. Al-Najah in Nablus opened its doors last week after a three-months closure and is trying to finish the last academic year and start the next one. Bethlehem — stripped of non-religious foreign staff — is at work, and Bir Zeit and Hebron start soon. Gaza Islamic University set up shop at the start of the month, hoping the disparate political tendencies among students and administration will not be exploited to disrupt classes.

Last year was an unsettled year. While not disrupted as much by closures as previously, the long rear guard battles against attempts to impose Military Order 854 — which would reduce the universities to the status of high schools — sapped everybody's strength.

The issue of the military demand that foreign academics sign an anti-PLO document as a prerequisite for a work permit is still on the table. Teachers from abroad will have to go into class with the threat of summary deportation hanging over their heads.

As this survey shows, cultural events and student elections are also likely to prove intervention points. But despite all past pressures, schools are expanding intake and widening courses on offer.

The 1982-83 academic year in the West Bank universities gave on-the-ground testimony of developments in the education policy of the occupation. Perhaps the high spot of the year was that Bir Zeit University, near Ramallah, got through it without being closed by the military.

The one issue which ran like a strand of barbed wire through the life of all four universities this year was the anti-PLO work permit application, introduced by the military just before the start of term. Al-Najah Univeristy, Nablus, the largest university on the West Bank, lost 28 of its staff; Bir Zeit, the oldest, saw five of its teachers leave; Bethlehem, the university set up by the Catholic Church, had one foreign staff member expelled and another 11 barred from the campus; Hebron, the youngest university, did not lose any teachers although as foreign passport holders, their outside staff had a tense year.

The issue started as a small cloud on the horizon, August 28, 1982, when the announcement appeared in the local press of an Israeli edict stating that all non-West Bank students must get permits to enter their colleges. The order, one section of Military Order 854, which would give Israel full control over the independent universities in the occupied territories, was immediately rejected. In the next week a second order applying to all teachers was issued, but on September 8 only teachers from Gaza, the Galilee, the Triangle and Jerusalem had to have permits.

It was this order, with its adjoining demand that teachers agree not to indulge " in any act (or offer) any assistance to the organisation called the PLO or any terrorist organisation," that was to be the basis of a year-long struggle. Al-Najah was chosen for attention first: three teachers were summarily deported September 12 and 13; a week later eight more had gone.

By October the total had risen to 14, including Vice President Abd al-Rahman Shahin and President Munther Salah. Eventually 25 teachers were deported, denied entry to the occupied territories or barred from the campus.

Most of the "foreign" teachers spotted by the Israeli military were not foreigners at all but West Bank Palestinians with Jordanian or other passports who were outside the occupied territories in 1967. The only *bona fide* alien to be booted out was Mark Cheverton, a young British biology instructor at Bethlehem, who had to leave November 5. A month later 10 of his colleagues were forbidden by the military from entering their place of employment.

By November 15, BZU had lost five teachers; they were the last to go. With a few sympathetic words from the US secretary of state and no one on the universities' side willing to compromise, things began to drift. Bethlehem's foreign staff were barred for the rest of the year; others managed to keep teaching, despite periodic threats, if not on campus then at least in *ad hoc* (and technically 'illegal') tutorials. A final amendment was made on February 15 but no action was taken against still recalcitrant teachers.

Commenting on the anti-PLO pledge issue at BZU, Vice President Abd al-Latif Barghouthi said, "the pressures of the loyalty oath caused many difficulties. Although only five faculty members had to leave, the 50 or so foreign faculty have been living an anxious and unsettled life throughout the year." While work permits are pending, teachers have had to maintain their legal status by renewing their tourist visas every three months by leaving and then re-entering the country.

Students have always been targets for arrest and detention by occupation troops. Last academic year the whole of

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A HOME REMEMBERED

by Daoud Kuttab

In 1934, Jerusalem architect Andoni Baramki completed construction of a beautiful red-stone two-storey house for his own family in Jerusalem's Musrara neighbourhood outside Damascus Gate. The land for the house was bought from Hassan Bek Tourjman, a local Arab landowner who owned most of the plots in the area that bears his name. The construction of the house which Baramki had designed and supervised was a professional highlight for one of the first Palestinian architects in Jerusalem.

Andoni Baramki studied architecture at the Academy of Fine Arts in Athens. The house he built using the now depleted red rose stones carved from a Bethlehem quarry was distinctive because it combined oriental arches with Corinthian pillars. Unfortunately, however, the Baramkis did not live in their house very long.

During the '20s and the '30s, while architect Andoni was busy as public works engineer in the Ramallah area and designing houses — many of which can be seen on the Jerusalem-Bethlehem road — his family lived in another house while the house in the Tourjman neighbourhood was rented to a prominent Palestinian family.

In 1947, Abu Ismael Taziz, a Jerusalem pharmacist, offered to buy the house, but Andoni Baramki could not give up his masterpiece. Instead he sold Taziz the house he was living in and moved to Musrara. One year later the Baramkis had to flee Jerusalem, frightened by the close fighting in the 1948 war. In fact, the battle line was so close that the Baramki house was occupied by the Haganah Zionist militia and later used as a front-line Israeli military post overlooking the Mandelbaum gate and the border with what later became Jordan.

The Baramkis, who later settled in East Jerusalem, never forgot their house. Dr Gabi Baramki, now the acting president of Bir Zeit University and Andoni Baramki's son, relates that his father would often go to the the roof of the YMCA to look at the house, "as if to make sure it was still there." Gabi Baramki explains, however, that those 19 years (between 1948 and 1967) were much easier for his father than later. "Although he could clearly see the house which was merely 400 metres away, it felt like a great distance. The real suffering took place later," said Dr Gabi Baramki.

Not long after the end of the 1967 war, the Baramkis crossed the old boundaries and were able to get much closer to their house. With the Israeli army's boundaries moved up considerably, the Baramki house was no longer needed as a military post. During the first days after the war, the house was completely empty, but soon Jewish squatters came in and took up residence.

The Baramkis, hearing that Israeli lawyer Ronen had helped stop the army from demolishing the house, went to the attorney and showed him the papers, (*tabu*) deeds, maps and title to the house. The lawyer was successful in having the squatters removed, but further attempts to get possession of the house went in vain.

Dr Baramki described the five years before his father's death in 1972 as the most painful. "Whereas before 1967 his house seemed quite far, now he could touch it. My father could not absorb the fact that he was unable to take back his own house. We had proper title to the house. We were Jerusalem residents with an ID card and the house was empty," he explained.

Andoni Baramki's friends — and he had many — would often tell his family that they saw him walking around the house. They described him in his last days as a romantic lover looking at his sweetheart.

During the legal battles, the Baramkis discovered their house had been sold to the Jerusalem municipality. After Andoni's death, the family tried to continue legal action. Evelyn Baramki, Andoni's wife, even tried to rent the building for a nominal fee — just as long as the ownership of the house was recognised. Her requests were always turned down.

Museum

As part of Teddy Kollek's municipality project to "remove the signs of a divided city" the row of houses on the 'green line', including the Baramki house, were set for demolition. But Meron Benvenisti, deputy mayor at the time, suggested that the beautiful house be saved and used as a museum to describe the 19 years of partition. Benvenisti, who has since been fired, explained his intentions at the time: "I felt that one should not simply erase part of history. I had proposed that the museum be used to portray equally what life was like between 1948 and 1967 on both sides of the city."

Benvenisti says now that he had no idea that the house belonged to an Arab. "Only years later, while Dr Baramki and I were on a trip to Berlin, did I find out that it was their house." Benvenisti notes that if he had checked with the registration department he probably could have found out, "but one doesn't think of that when the area concerned was a military area."

After the West Jerusalem municipality had been in possession of the house for a number of years, a German publisher, George von Holtzbrink, donated the funds needed for the museum Benvenisti had envisioned. But the museum turned out quite differently from Benvenisti's proposals. Complains Benvenisti, the museum turned out to be "a victory exhibit for the Israeli army."

In 1983 the Baramki family was finally given the opportunity to enter their own house. In April 1983 the home which their father had designed and built himself in 1934 and whose title they still possess was opened as a public museum. Of course the Baramkis, like other visitors, have to pay an entrance fee to visit the newly established Tourjman Post Museum. Dr Gabi Baramki finally entered his house after the museum opened. He refused to pay, however. A journalist from *The Observer* who was writing a story about the house paid the IS25 entrance fee for him.

A yellow field turned trap for Israel

by Yesha'ayuhu Ben Furat and Eitan Habber

Ansar was once a yellow field of crops. Today it is a hump on the back of the state of Israel.

The first to arrive at Ansar, after the tank columns, were the soldiers of a military police unit. They say that they saw with their own eyes the golden heads of wheat. Some of them also remember that a local farmer, from Ansar, asked for permission to reap his crop before the tanks ran over it. But there are some who refuse to believe that golden crops ever grew in Ansar. It is not possible that anything other than "terrorists" (Palestinian fighters) ever grew in this place.

In Ansar they forgot this a long time ago. We were this week in Ansar. There was a bad smell: a mixture of the exhaust and oil of tanks and other battle vehicles; the stench of sewers and smell of the sweat of thousands of people who have been living on top of each other for more than a year. Almost the only view in Ansar is that of blankets, brown, grey and black, which are hung on bars and wires.

Other scenes are dirt lanes, soldiers on patrol and watch towers. There are 4700 Palestinian and Lebanese detained in Ansar and maybe this is the only place in Lebanon where war did not cease, even for a single day. There is no cease-fire there.

Today, more than one year after the start of the war in Lebanon, Ansar is a hump on the back of Israel. Some say that it is the microcosm of the whole which is called the Lebanese war. As in all parts of Lebanon, so in Ansar — Israel is in a trap. It has on its hands about 5000 Palestinians of all kinds and types and it can neither swallow them nor spit them out. It holds them between its teeth knowing they are a barrel of explosives.

We asked officials from the government, officers and experts in law, if the detained Palestinians constitute a benefit or a burden to the state of Israel. The answer was unequivocal: "A burden which all of us are ready to bear as a condition for the release of our prisoners held by the Palestinians."

Ariel Sharon, when he still served as defence minister, realised a problem which is called Ansar camp. He demanded this pack of troubles be got rid of. According to the radio station "Europe 1," Sharon suggested the Ansar detainees be shipped to the Eilat (Red Sea) coast and discharged at a deserted spot on the Saudian coastline to let them go wherever they want from there.

The "Uranium Plan", which was later renamed "Peace for Galilee", took into consideration the possibility that hundreds or thousands of Palestinian fighters, mainly in the coastal area from the camps of Rashidiya and the Sidon area, would be captured. From the first hours of the war, Palestinian fighters and suspects were passed to the intelligence people who set up shop in a citrus factory in Sidon. According to all indications, all preparations to absorb thousands of suspects did not pass the test. The result was inevitable: thousands of people, young and old, were pushed into the factory and were forced to sit on the ground. Among them were wounded and dying people. These were difficult scenes.

In the factory in Sidon thousands of suspects passed the first test. According to foreign sources, the Israeli intelligence used informers from among the detainees. The informers were masked to prevent their identification. They looked through two holes in the mask and identified those in Palestinian organisations.

The stream of suspects did not stop arriving at Sidon. There were hours and days in Sidon when over 10,000 men were there at the same time. Some of them sat for days under the burning sun. Very little food was given, if at all. Water was provided in small quantities. The Israeli intelligence people worked 24 hours a day, every day. Suspects were brought in buses, lorries, jeeps and private cars.

In the first days of the war, the residents were still in shock. But, immediately after they recovered, hundreds and sometimes thousands of women arrived at the gates of the factory yard. They knew the Israeli army would not open fire on them. The density and shouts in the yard more than once frightened the Israeli soldiers. They were in a state of alert. According to one story published in the Arabic press, a local woman at the gate of the factory attacked a masked informer and tore the mask off his face. He was identified and a short time later a Palestinian organisation announced that he had been executed.

There was an urgent need to find a place to house the detainees who were suspected of membership in Palestinian organisations. On June 11, at the height of the war, a military police unit arrived at Ansar. In the large spot which was destined to become Ansar camp there was in fact a field of grain. Within a few days, the Ansar camp was set up: barbed wire fences, tents and watch towers. A permanent image of Israeli prisons in Israel.

In Ansar, at the beginning, there were 19 encampments. According to the plan, each encampment had tents for 250 prisoners, kitchens, toilets and bathrooms. Each encampment was separated from the others by barbed wire. Those suspected of membership who were transferred first to prisons in Israel for the purpose of investigation and final identification were returned to Lebanon. In the registration tents in Ansar they received a personal number, a prisoner's ticket and brown uniforms.

The first days in Ansar were also days of fear and shock. The people who were brought from Sidon through Megiddo prison to Ansar Number 6, after investigation, were still panic-stricken.

The soldiers' feeling of security collapsed almost every morning. The morning is the time of counting. After a night of sleep it should be known who and how many detainees are still there. For the purpose of counting, the military police entered the encampments. They were told not to carry arms. They were dressed in protective garments and helmets. No more than this.

And opposite them stood 250 prisoners — and 500 eyes full of hatred. Outside, beside the entrance to the encampment, usually a tank with a pointing gun oversaw the place. The counting by the military police in the camp was usually done very quickly. It was a very questionable act to stand opposite 250 detainees, most of whom don't have anything to lose. The detainees, by the way, did not make the task of counting easy.

The first shock passed. Life normalised in the different encampments and immediately positions were created. From the point of view of those outside, it appeared, wrongly, that the mukhtar was in control of everything. The detainees did not take any notice of the mukhtar, except when they needed food from the Israeli army. They appointed officers, deputies and other ranks from among themselves.

Positions were also created on an encampment basis, because of the special attention the Israeli army devoted to this. The most respectable and most dangerous encampment was that of the people of Ahmad Jibril's organisation (the PFLP-GC). They were separated from the other encampments from the first, and according to the military police, "each had a criminal face."

The Jibril encampment is a long way from the others and people there can't see others. There is an unusually strict guard on it.

The most important personalities in the other encampments are those who held ranks in the Palestinian organisations. Among themselves, they know exactly who holds what rank. Also most important are those viewed as such by the Israeli army. They are the people who have "blood on their hands," in the language of the Israeli army. This means that they took part in operations against Israel before the war in Lebanon. There are different and contradictory speculations regarding their number.

It appears that the detainees need nothing but freedom. The Israeli army gives them food, water, toilets, etc. They live in large tents, 25 people to a tent.

In fact, Ansar camp is composed of two separate camps, A and B. There were 2000 detainees in A, and about 3000 in B. In a separate corner of the camp is Jibril's encampment. Another is set aside for solitary confinement. The solitary confinement cells are concrete cubes one and a half metres square. The Israeli army push the troublemakers into them, and the Palestinians and other suspects when they are first brought to the camp.

Life in both Ansar camps is boring. In both camps the number of the prisoners grew according to the situation (at its height, they say, there were more than 10,000 men). Two lifestyles have developed — open and secret, on the surface and underground.

On the one hand, there is nothing exceptional. From outside the fences every morning, one can see everything inside; the counting process, breakfast distributed by the mukhtars, sports, physical exercises, and artistic activities (mainly carving).

But the real life was conducted in the other category. The 5000 detainees in the camp are all organised more or less according to their membership in Palestinian organisations. They have officers of different ranks. They have revolutionary committees and revolutionary councils. They have a complete industry of substitute weapons (spoons, for example, were sharpened and turned into knives). They have sports lessons to attract the attention of the Israeli guards. They also have guards on roofs. They have courts to close the mouths of the informers, lessons and lectures.

They have power. The commander of the camp says today that they are Israeli prisoners. The power of the 5000 detainees in Ansar camp starts at the point where the limit of Israeli action finishes. They have endless time. They have 5000 brains to weave tricks, to deceive, cheat and harass the Israeli soldiers and to try to expose them as useless.

As the dull and boring life goes on in the camp, the lava seethes from under the volcano. In this volcano, which is different from any other volcano in the world, major underground activities start which include among other things digging tunnels.

The double life in Ansar camp continues to grow. Nothing is the same as it was in the first days in the Ansar camp. Opposite the Israeli army units in Ansar stands an organised brigade of Palestinian organisations.

In the trial minute, as the basketball commentators say, the Israeli giant woke up from his sleep. The northern commander, Amir Drori, who was given responsibility for the camp a few weeks ago, told us: "In Ansar, we arrived at a situation of one minute only; one minute before a catastrophe." (Translation: Yediot Aharanot, September 21, 1983.)

ABNA' AL-BALAD addresses the conference on Palestine

A three-member delegation from **Abna' al-Balad** *attended the eight-day UN Conference on the Question of Palestine in Geneva early this month. Mayssara al-Sayyed, head of the delegation, delivered a speech to the full conference outlining the general conditions of the Palestinian people and especially Palestinians remaining within the 1948 borders of Israel. The NGO (non-government organisation) delegation, according to its members, was received warmly and was given special attention by Palestinian figures attending the conference. It is the first time* **Abna' al-Balad** *has taken part in an international peace conference on the Palestine question.*

The invitations to the conference were originally sent to the spokesman and secretary of the **Abna' al-Balad** *movement in Um al-Fahm, Hassan Jabarin and Ghassan Fawzi. Both men were arrested and held for several weeks, without charge, this summer and their passports were confiscated, preventing them from attending. Therefore, other people from the movement were sent. Marwan Darwish and Mahmoud Fawzi were the other members of the delegation.*

Official statement by the Um al-Fahm Cultural Centre/*Abna' al-Balad* (Sons of the Country) Movement to the UN International Conference on the Question of Palestine, August 29 to September 7, Geneva. Excerpts:

Mr President, Honoured Delegates and Guests,

In the name of the Cultural Centre of Um al-Fahm, in the name of the rejuvenated Palestinian national movement in Israel — *Abna' al-Balad* — and in the name of all the Palestinian masses in Israel, I convey to you the sincerest greetings of support for and solidarity with this UN International Conference on the Question of Palestine, hoping that it will take frank and clear decisions on the Palestine question and on the particular means of resolving it.

This conference represents an important step and a great achievement, and confirms the support of the vast majority of the nations of the world, their peoples and their progressive and democratic organisations in favour of the proven and non-negotiable rights of the Palestinian people. . .

In the year 1948, during the war of Palestine and after the disintegration of the land and the people of Palestine and the expulsion of the vast majority of the people from their homeland, the Palestinian masses remaining in their homeland became a numerical minority. These masses were primarily subjected to the dissolution of their cohesion and national identity through the destruction of their economic base, institutions, trade unions and Palestinian national associations, and through the confiscation of land and the outlawing of the terms "Palestine" and "Palestinians".

Moreover, the state apparatus imposed military rule over the regions where the majority of the Palestinians remaining in their homeland lived, and considered these areas closed, in which people were forbidden to travel and work freely or develop freely what land remained under their ownership. This led to the spread of unemployment, hunger and destitution, the subjection of many to punishment, oppression, terror and even to be killed by the bullets of the army and the land mines placed on their land when they break military regulations and go in search of food for their children.

All this aims at suffocating the Palestinian people, making their lives impossible in order to force an increasing number to flee their country, in order to retain in the context of the state of Israel a purely Jewish society.

Marwan Darwish (right, standing) and Mahmoud Fawzi (back left) attended the UN Conference on the Question of Palestine in Geneva as members of the *Abna' al-Balad* delegation.

After the abolition of this military administration in 1966, due to the struggle of the Palestinian masses and that of the progressive Jewish forces and elements, the state apparatus began the legislation of the laws of racial discrimination, and began the practice of national oppression in addition to the use of all forms of persecution, terror and arrest. It also forbade attempts at independent organisations and retained the Defence (Emergency) Regulations of 1945 inherited from the British Mandate. All of this, in spite of the fact that this state has declared that it considers the Palestinians to be citizens with equal rights, exposes the hypocrisy of its alleged democracy.

The policies of the Israeli state apparatus against the Palestinians remain based on the attempt to suppress the Palestinian national identity through the confiscation of land, the denial of democratic rights, discrimination in employment, education and the budgets of local municipal councils, and through refusal to allow the growth of a national cultural movement and prohibition of independent organisations. But these policies have taken more extreme forms in the past few years due to developments in the situation of the Palestinians and in the region. These policies of oppression and denial of democratic rights will continue as long as the state insists on operating on the basis of guaranteeing preference to the Jew, whether inside or outside the country, with the aim of destroying the morale and the personality of the Palestinian human being and making this human being a weakling incapable of asserting his or her rights.

For us, a source of great pride and honour lies in the magnificent steadfastness shown by our Palestinian masses in their defence of the legitimacy of the Palestinian presence and identity and in their resistance to oppressive policies and practices which are directed against our right to be a patriotic society. There is nothing that can demonstrate this better than the Day of the Land, proclaimed on March 30, 1976, when one-half million of our Palestinian people in Israel staged an uprising against the policies of robbery and confiscation of the land, declared a general strike, and organised huge demonstrations and marches which were confronted by official terror and ugly suppression. Six of our people lost their lives and thousands of men, women and children were wounded and arrested, irrespective of the fact that these forms of protest are based on Israeli legality and democratic rights stipulated by the laws of the state.

Peace and social progress in our region can never be achieved as long as Israeli aggression and expansionism persist with the full political and military support of the USA, Israel's principal ally, as evident from the strategic agreement between the two states, and also evident from the development of the Israeli invasion of the Lebanon and from the cruel aggression against the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples, one of whose principal aims was the destruction of the infrastructure of the PLO.

The essence of the struggle in the region is the Palestine question. Therefore it is inevitable that we should work and struggle to terminate Israel's occupation of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, as well as the remaining occupied Arab territories, and to realise the non-negotiable and legal national rights of the Palestinian people, which include the right to return to Palestine, the right to self-determination and the right to establish a Palestinian state on its homeland with Jerusalem as its capital under the leadership of the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. And here one must point out that these rights around which all sections of the Palestinian people are united cannot but include the national rights of the Palestinian masses inside Israel, since they are a part of the Palestinian people and since their struggle constitutes a part of the collective Palestinian struggle. The disintegration and the dispersal imposed on our people does not negate the common national interest of all Palestinian groupings and does not cancel our commitment to the unity of our people and our land.

And here we must welcome the decisions of the Palestine National Council during its 16th session held in Algeria. These revolutionary, patriotic, courageous and wise decisions confirm the need of consolidating Palestinian national unity and the necessity of safeguarding the independence of the Palestinians and curbing Arab attempts at containing the Palestinian revolution, aimed at the sabotage of national unity and the imposition of patronage and dependence on the Palestinian national movement. These clear decisions have closed the door in the face of various projects and plots intending to dissolve the national rights of the Palestinian people and cripple the Arab liberation movement in order to engulf the entire region and impose upon it the Camp David agreements and their various appendices together with their political derivations, namely "autonomy," "the Jordanian option" and "the Reagan plan."

Palestinian Papers

by Akram Haniyeh

I never saw him before but I feel that I know him as well as my young brother or the neighbour's son. His name? It might be Ahmad, Khaled or Said... the names are not important here. They have the same connotation as long as you are a Palestinian, but let us assume that his name is Said.

I imagine him now standing upright, a child of six years old: brown-skinned face, sharp eyes, the early anxiety lines leaving a mark on his floodlight face overflowing with innocence, goodness and sadness.

I fancy him living in Sabra and Shatila refugee camps. He might be a new visitor. Or perhaps his family lived in Ain al-Hilweh or Rashidiya, Wahdat, Baq'a, Aqbat Jabr, or, or... it does not matter. The Palestinian is a refugee wherever he goes. The universe he sees is a big tent.

I guess that he lives with his grandfather or grandmother after the departure of his father on board a ship weeks ago. His mother was killed months ago. The death of his mother is not an artistic precondition for writing but it is an objective condition of the Palestinian tragedy.

I can see him on the night of September 17, 1982, the last third of the 20th century, sitting for supper. He ate some slices of bread with olive oil and thyme, tomato and onion. Perhaps his grandfather turned on the transistor to listen to the news. He spat at it as he heard the statement of an Arab minister or an American official; the nationality here is not important — the

Arab presidents are more American than Ronald Reagan. Perhaps he cursed those presidents. His grandmother patted the shoulder of the small Palestinian Said and said: "God bring destruction to the Arab and American presidents. They are the source of our tribulation." Said then began showering her with dozens of questions... I imagine his Palestinian grandmother in her worn out but neat clothes, collecting the supper plates and coming slowly back to sit beside Said on his mattress and answer his childish questions. She told him he will meet his father soon. Perhaps she talked about a beautiful house he would build in the future, or about the quiet, secure days of the future without fear of the bullets of death. I imagine the bullets whizzing suddenly and breaking the silence. His grandfather shook his head. Said asked his grandmother: "Are they coming here?" She said, "Why should they come?" Then she told him an interesting story until he slept.

At 8:30 or 9:00 pm, the time is not important as the death of a Palestinian is permitted at any time and place, the killers broke into the miserable one-room shack in which Said and his grandparents lived. His grandfather was asleep. He, being extremely old with no sight and hearing, did not hear the whizzing bullets and remained asleep. The grandmother who remained anxious, woke up and hugged Said.

The killers entered the room. They looked around in disgust. One murderer strongly kicked the sleeping grandfather in his stomach before pulling the trigger and killing him. Said woke up. The grandmother cried and hugged Said strongly as if wanting to hide him within her warm and sad bosom or within her eyes which constantly were full of tears.

I do not believe Said cried or wept. He was astonished, stunned, when one of the killers separated him from his grandmother. One stabbed the child in the chest, but he did not die. Millions of deer, roses and birds sprang frighteningly from his eyes. They exclaimed at what was happening. Said touched his wound, his hand covered with blood. He pointed to the killers. Why? The killer was angry and disgusted at the Palestinian blood staining his uniform. He emptied his gun into the boy's body before killing his grandmother.

I tell you, Said did not die because of a knife or bullet. All the world's weapons cannot assassinate the butterflies, deer, roses, poetry, dreams and the light beams which lived in his heart, chest and eyes.

Said died when he saw the heavy signs of hatred and enmity drawn on the face of the killer. He said, "Perhaps he hated me a lot?" and asked how it was possible that the world was so ugly. Is it possible that the world has wicked people like this killer? Millions of questions came into his eyes before he died. I tell you that Sabra and Shatila have added 3000 tombs, 3000 new olive trees, 3000 new rivers and 3000 stars. (Translation: Al Shaab, 17.9.83)

May God Bless the Masses

by Mohammed al-Maghout

Arab 1: "Good morning."

Arab 2: "The morning of Lebanon, West Bank, South Lebanon, Jordan River's sources, the burning of al-Aqsa Mosque, the raid on the Iraqi atomic reactor, the Sinai agreement, the surrenderist Lebanese-Israeli agreement, Camp David, the Arab conferences, the Beqa'a war, the mountain war, the Gulf war, Sabra and Shatila massacres, the Tripoli massacres, the defence emergency regulations and martial law. Oh, you rude person."

Arab 1: "What did I do to earn this strong attack and your threat to hit me with your shoes?"

Arab 2: "You are an Arab... and you say good morning?"

Arab 1: "What do you say then?"

Arab 2: "I say the morning of thrombosis, disc and partial paralysis..."

Arab 1: "I am sorry."

Arab 2: "Say good morning again and I will file a complaint with the police in morality court."

Arab 1: "I never intended to provoke you."

Arab 2: "What are these scratch marks on your face?"

Arab 1: "They are simple family conversation."

Arab 1: "What is this swelling on your skull?"

Arab 2: "My wife hit me with her saucepan."

Arab 1: "An ordinary saucepan?"

Arab 2: "Aluminium."

Arab 1: "We are more advanced. My wife hit me with the steel pressure cooker."

Arab 2: "So your head will whistle when your pains boil up."

Arab 1: "Is it a joke?"

Arab 2: "Yes."

Arab 1: "An odd one."

Arab 2: "But it is a committed joke. The citizen does not laugh at it immediately, as in the case of the rotten bourgeois jokes, but he laughs after one or two months, because of the dialectical value of the joke..."

Arab 1: "Do you have many of these committed jokes?"

Arab 2: "Quite a good amount, and after the Central Committee, the Politbureau, and the Popular Committees in the regions read and test them all at home then they will be made available to the masses at a national occasion."

Arab 1: "May God help the masses."

Arab 2: "The masses live on."

Arab 1: "Live on."

Arab 2: "The Arab people live on..."

Arab 1: "Live on... live on... live on."

Arab 2: "Down with the imperialist allies... down..."

Arab 1: "Please do not say this. Perhaps the *mukhabarat* will hear us."

Arab 2: "Do not worry, I am *mukhabarat*. How do I look?"

Arab 1: "Praise the lord of creation! Why do you spy on people at this late hour of night? The streets are deserted and people are asleep. Whom do you want to watch... the sunset? To maintain security?"

Arab 2: "I watch everything, and if I do not find anybody I watch myself."

Arab 1: "I have never heard about a man watching himself."

Arab 2: "There are many cases like this. For instance, I know a journalist who, if he does not find a government to bribe him, bribes himself. And a woman singer who sings for herself in front of her mirror and cheers her singing enthusiastically. And a former parliament member who, after he leaves the toilet, comments 'the session has ended.'"

Arab 1: "I think you suffer from nervous exhaustion."

Arab 2: "Three days have passed and I did not taste sleep."

Arab 1: "Whom do you watch?"

Arab 2: "I do not know."

Arab 1: "Why do you not go to sleep with your wife and family?"

Arab 2: "I cannot because I am watched."

Arab 1: "It is a very strange world."

Arab 2: "Yes, dear friend, in the Arab world from its Gulf to its Ocean there is a need for *mukhabarat* to watch over *mukhabarat*, for a student to watch over students, for a writer to watch over writers, for a driver to watch over drivers, for a drunk to watch over drunks, for a judge to watch over judges, for a lawyer to watch over lawyers, for an engineer to watch over engineers, for a professional to watch over professionals, for an artist to watch over artists, for a journalist to watch over journalists, for an athlete to watch over athletes, for a passenger to watch over passengers, for a prisoner to watch over prisoners, for a rightist to watch over rightists, for a leftist to watch over leftists, for a Nasserite to watch over Nasserites, for a nationalist to watch over nationalists, for an Arab unity advocate to watch over Arab unity advocates, for a *wafdist* * to watch over other *wafdists*, for a desperado to watch over other desperados, for an optimist to watch over other optimists, for a dying person to watch over other dying; it means that the authority spies on people and the people spy on the authority."

Arab 1: "And Israel to watch over all."

* *wafd* — A progressive Egyptian party formed in 1919. It was later dissolved by King Farouk. (Translation: Al Quds, 21.9.83, published in Al Mustaqbal)

Correction

The emblem of the second national literary festival, reprinted on *Al Fajr*'s Palestine and Literature page last week, was made by the Palestinian Writers' Department in the occupied territories, an affiliate of the Arab Thought Forum, expressly for the festival which was held in Jerusalem, August 1982.

There is no relation between the festival's emblem and the literary news item which appeared with the emblem. The news item referred to the Palestinian culture week to be organised next month in London by the General Union of Palestinian Writers and Journalists, a body based outside Palestine.

WINDOW ON THE ARAB PRESS

The fierce battles in Lebanon between the Phalangists and the Lebanese Army on the one hand and the Progressive National Party, as well as the US and French armies' direct involvement in the internal battles against the progressive forces, was the major topic of the local papers this week.

Early in the week news of a cease-fire and preparation for a national reconciliation conference was reported in bold headlines in all the papers.

Unity Against US Imperialism

Lebanon's Amin Gemayel's latest call on Washington to salvage his regime is further evidence of increased American imperialist aggression in Lebanon.

The continuous naval bombardment of nationalist forces and the presence of the Marines in Souq al-Gharb are carried out under the pretext of Syrian and Palestinian participation in the war to justify escalation of American aggression. Israel's chief of staff also claimed the Soviets are indirectly involved in Lebanon to justify further aggression.

In Israel there is continuous talk about "threats" to Israel's security because of latest advances of nationalist forces. All this leads to the possibility of Israeli intervention in the Shouf war.

By talking about increased Syrian and Palestinian presence in the Shouf, American officials are justifying attacking Syrian and Palestinian positions. This is clear evidence that the imperialist aggression is directed against all Arab liberation forces, particularly the Lebanese National Salvation Front, Syria and the PLO.

Any inter-Palestinian or Palestinian-Syrian disputes should be put aside for the time being and all forces united to confront Washington's aggression.

AL TALIA
September 22

The US Declares War

More American ships are arriving off the shore of Lebanon; American officials are declaring the US will not allow Souq al-Gharb to fall into the hands of the nationalist forces; American guns are shelling nationalist strongholds; and American military experts are supervising the fighting in the Shouf.

All these recent developments prove the US is trying to dictate its terms in Lebanon through military intervention. There is no more talk about protecting the Marines to justify the navy's involvement in the fighting. Now the talk is about protecting Amin Gemayel's regime and containing the victories of the nationalist forces.

The US has declared war on the nationalist Lebanese and Arab forces. All signs indicate that the Reagan administration, obsessed with a cold-war mentality, is willing to continue with its aggression in Lebanon.

These American practices will not stop unless they are deterred by the Arabs. There is no doubt that Palestinian-Syrian-nationalist Lebanese unity is the base for this deterrence, which will eventually attract other Arab nationalist forces to confront the American war.

AL SHAAB
September 22

Sykes-Picot Revisited ?

In the wake of the US Navy's shelling of the Druze, the French have exacerbated the situation in Lebanon by letting their planes strafe the various targets in Beirut suspected of being involved in the recent attack on French forces.

This raises a valid question: how can units of a force assigned to keep peace in the country succeed in their mission if they join the fray themselves? Will peace in Lebanon be made possible if the US and France start shooting? Is their participation in the fight meant to bring peace to the country, or does it have other, more sinister, aims?

The situation in Lebanon is reminiscent of the World War I epoch when the Arabs were still hibernating, and the Western nations were busy plotting how to carve the Arab world into their own individual spheres of influence.

Recently, the big powers, eastern and western, have begun revealing their true intentions regarding the Arabs. The Soviet inheritors of the czarist regime seek to have a foothold in Syria; France, Britain, Italy and the US seek to appropriate a narrow patch of Lebanon under the guise of the MNF.

There is no possibility of an east-west clash in Beirut, despite the plentitude of such opportunities, because they both have identical aims: carving up the Arab world amongst themselves by reviving the musty treatise signed by Sykes and Picot at Saint Remo.

Will the Arabs wake up, just for one day, and take a look at what's going on around them?

AL QUDS
September 23

French Imperialism

The French air attack on Lebanese nationalist positions in the mountain makes one wonder if this is really socialist France. If it is not, one wonders, then, what happened to the leader of France's Socialist party. Has he been brainwashed or is he playing the international imperialist game?

France has always been an imperialist power and a leader in exploiting people. It cannot hide this by allowing freedom only inside France, or by having a socialist party rule the country. This is simply because the position France attacked Thursday belongs to forces who are members in the Socialist International, to which Mitterand's party belongs.

Mitterand's real intentions were exposed when he made his controversial visit to Israel shortly before the Israeli invasion of Lebanon last year. But that trip was a little bit balanced by France's 'moral' stand during that invasion even though it did not exceed verbal condemnation.

But is seems that France's demand for an end to the invasion and Israeli pull-out was not made for moral or socialist reasons. It was mainly a means to bring in its own forces.

The French regime will remain an imperialist one no matter what changes happen on the surface. It needs serious internal changes for it to become socialist. Lebanon and Chad may be the earthquakes which will bring this needed change.

AL MITHAQ
September 24

Lebanon - A Nationalist War

Official Arab and international mass media close to the American administration and Western European governments try to draw a false picture of the war in Lebanon. They claim that the war is sectarian, between the Maronite Christians and Druze, Sunnis and Shi'ites on the other, supported by the Syrians, the Palestinians and the Iranians.

All their attempts are doomed to failure. The Lebanon war, since it started in 1975, is a war between the nationalist Lebanese forces and Palestinian guerrillas against reactionary Lebanese and Arab powers and their allies in the region.

The Arab reactionaries, backed by American imperialists, took advantage of the religious structures of Lebanon. This was exposed when the Lebanese people revolted against this existing structure to reaffirm their nationalist Arab role against reactionaries and social backwardness.

Therefore, to claim that the war is between Druze and Phalangists is wrong. It is a war between the Lebanese nationalists and progressive Arabs against reactionaries.

The Druze, the Christians, the Shi'ites and the Sunnis in Lebanon are all Arabs. There is no religious hatred between them. The war is against the enemies of Lebanon led by the American serpent. The more this is made clear, the more the chances that the war will end in victory increase. Victory for Arab Lebanon will be achieved no matter what the sacrifices are.

AL FAJR
September 26

Greetings to Lebanon

We share the joy of Beirut residents and all of the Lebanese at the cease-fire and the start of national reconciliation talks. These two events are bound to put an end to American and Israeli wishes to change Lebanon into a Sabra and Shatila to justify their continuing occupation of this Arab country.

The Israeli invaders partially withdrew to the Awali River but not before they set the stage for a civil war in the Shouf to allow their allies, the Phalangists, whom they had armed and trained, to impose their will on Lebanon. The American Navy and the Marines then tried to finish what the Israelis had left undone. But the Lebanese people in general, led by the National Salvation Front, foiled the Israeli and American plots. They proved that a united people can be victorious. It is not true, not in Vietnam, El Salvador or Lebanon, that the American imperialists and others can get away with everything. They were defeated and will always be defeated.

The Lebanese people realise their war for national salvation is not over yet. It is entering its most serious moment. One-fourth of Lebanon is still occupied by Israel, while Beirut is being violated by the American fleet and the Marines.

The Lebanese are aware of the dangers surrounding them. Walid Jumblatt, leader of the NSF, said the battle is still going on, but this time it is a political and social struggle.

The nationalist forces did not put down their arms and their towns are still fortified. The army, which tried to invade these towns supported by Israel, the US and their allies, was the one to surrender to the will of the nationalist front and its allies.

All that is left is for the Israeli and American invaders to leave the area — good-bye and good riddance.

AL ITTIHAD
September 27

Military denies Gaza teachers work permits

Israeli military authorities refused to give permits, September 16, to six teachers from the Gaza Strip to teach in Gaza's Islamic University. No reasons were given for the measure. Fifteen more West Bank teachers whose work permits have not yet been granted fear that they might also be barred from teaching. The bannings have been rejected by the university board.

Ahmad Hassan Shawwa, head of the University Board of Trustees, told *Al Fajr* that he received a letter from the interior department of the Gaza military governorate informing him that the six teachers are not allowed to teach. According to the letter, the Israeli order was based on Egyptian Order 380, which established governmental control over the then al-Azhar religious school. Shawwa says this order applies to al-Azhar College but not the university, which was set up in 1978.

Military authorities later served two of the six teachers, Abd al-Aziz Odeh and Ramadan Shallah, with a restriction order which forces them to report at the local police station and to remain confined to the borders of the Gaza Srip during daytime and to their homes at night. A third teacher, Suleiman Odeh, has been in detention without charge since early this month.

Among other regulations conveyed, the military governorate demanded that all teachers from the Gaza Strip present a special permit from the military governorate in their respective cities in order to be allowed to teach this year.

The University Board of Trustees, in a meeting September 22, decided to reject the authorities' orders not to allow the teachers to work in the institution. They also sent a letter to the military governorate informing them of their decision and demanding that they rescind their banning of the six teachers. They demanded that the 15 other teachers be given permits to teach, since the university needs their specialties.

The four-year-old university now enrolls more than 3500 students in six departments, mainly literature subjects such as Arabic and English languages, Islamic theology, etc. The university is a major educational alternative for the nearly 7000 *tawjihi* students (high school graduates) turned out annually, especially after the closure of the Egyptian universities to Gaza students. This year, the university was able to absorb 800 students out of 1300 students who applied for admission.

The restriction on the teaching staff is part of the Israeli-amended Egyptian law. Similarly, Military Order 854 restricts higher education in the West Bank. It was strongly criticised by local Palestinians and internationally; hence, it was not fully implemented in the past academic year.

GHALI CONDEMNS OCCUPATION

Butrus Ghali, the Egyptian minister for foreign affairs, finally realised, September 26, that Israeli occupation is the ugliest colonial occupation in the world.

Ghali, regaining his political awareness at the convention of the international Peace Conference in Cairo, expressed the hope that the conference would condemn the Israeli practices in the occupied territories.

Ghali pointed to the increase in Palestinian prisoners, house demolitions, land confiscation and deportations of political figures. Ghali stated that these are daily practices from which the Palestinian people suffer. He appealed to international public opinion to stop all these things which violate the Geneva Conventions. Ghali called on the public opinion to intervene to protect Palestinian civilians from acts of aggression practiced against them. (Translation: Al Ittihad, September 27, 1983).

UNRWA teachers list year's gains

The UNRWA teachers union put out a statement, September 24, outlining its achievements in the past two years. Elections are to be held next month.

The statement said the union has raised the salary index by 31 percent, fixed the maximum number of teaching hours at 25 for preparatory schools and 26 at the elementary level and modified the maternity leave system so that married teachers can get one year off immediately after the birth.

On the political level, the UNRWA union, which has members in the General Cooperative Committee for Education, a branch of the General West Bank Teachers Union, pursued the issue of anti-PLO work permits imposed by the occupation authorities on foreign teachers and the imposition of the comprehensive exam for students of the vocational institutes by the 'civil administration' and the Jordanian authorities. It was also centrally involved in the resolution of disputes among students in local universities, the statement said.

Ahmad Faris Odeh, the public information spokesman of the union, stated: "Despite the bad conditions which teachers of the West Bank have suffered, they managed to maintain an independent Palestinian identity as embodied through participation in the general political events of the occupied territories and to achieve certain union demands of UNRWA teachers."

A new administration for the union will be elected October 30.

continued from page 5

Cease-fire

The agreement reached for a cease-fire also calls for the return of all Lebanese refugees who fled their homes since the 1975-76 civil war. Another issue which will be discussed by the gathered leaders is a more equitable distribution of power among the Lebanese communities. Muslim Lebanese are expected to gain a greater share of the Lebanese pie, in accordance with their numbers as the absolute majority of the Lebanese society. UN observers, it is believed, will be brought to supervise the cease-fire alongside the Lebanese Army, Lebanese forces and members of the military branch of the Progressive Socialist Party (PSP) of Walid Jumblatt. Saudi Arabia and the US government have reportedly assured the Progressive Socialist Party that they will guarantee that recommendations of the national reconciliation committee will be implemented.

THE WAR IN LEBANON AN INSIDE VIEW

an EYEWITNESS ACCOUNT by
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Nasser of Egypt

September 28 marks the thirteenth anniversary of the death of Gamal Abd al-Nasser, the nationalist president of Egypt. Abd al-Nasser led the revolution of the free officers in Egypt against King Farouk, July 23, 1952. During his reign, Nasser achieved many economic, social and political gains for the people of Egypt. He died of a heart attack in 1970.

continued from page 8

Academic year

the BZU student council was put under town arrest through to February of this year. A new development is the harassment of groups of students undertaking community work projects in villages. In late October and early November, 28 students picking olives in Assira at Shamaliya, near Nablus, were detained, with one incarcerated in Nablus jail. In Ya'abad, near Jenin, 20 working students were arrested and taken to the local military governorate for interrogation. In Salfit five were held and at Anabta nine students, one professor and a US student were detained by soldiers.

In the spring a busload of students was picked up on their way back from a work camp in Um al-Fahm, and on Land Day, March 30, a tree-planting ceremony on the new campus was conducted amidst roadblocks with armed soldiers surrounding the campus. Several more arrests were made during voluntary work projects by BZU students in the Gaza Strip.

On November 28 the entire Bethlehem student council was detained. Two months later they were taken again after a raid on the university when soldiers stripped the student council offices and notice boards.

In November nationalist students won elections in both Hebron and at al-Najah. The al-Najah council got their first taste of the responsibilities of office on January 10, when they were all detained and taken to Fara'a, a primitive dentention centre used mainly for students. From January 8-15 all out-of-city students were prevented from reaching the campus by roadblocks at the university's entrances. They had first appeared on the morning that a Tel Aviv student delegation was due on campus for talks and to show solidarity with their plight. In the end the students had to infiltrate the campus through the hills, dodging the alerted military.

In January a busload of Hebron University students was stopped at a roadblock outside the city and taken *en masse* to Fara'a. Their 'crime' was that they were returning from a Palestine Song Festival at Bethlehem University. Over 40 Bethlehemites were also detained for the same event.

Perhaps the most serious documented case of abuse against students concerned Nayef Sweitat, president of the BZU student council. He was taken May 19 from his home town of Jenin and incarcerated in Fara'a. There, guards broke his arm.

University sources estimate that several hundred students were detained during the last year. According to a BZU official, two-thirds of their student detainees were held on flimsy charges of possession of illegal literature or posters.

The tally of 'lesser' harassments are legion. Several dozen students had frustrating repeat visits to local military headquarters, trying to retrieve confiscated ID cards. Lecturers Riyad Mifleh and Hassan Abu Libdeh of the BZU Biology and Mathematics departments both served terms of town arrest. Sami Kilani of the al-Najah physics department was also put under town arrest. Adnan Idris, a teacher of mathematics in Najah, was arrested in April for the 11th time in three years. He has never been charged.

Many students from all schools were refused travel documents and some received anonymous threatening telephone calls warning them to stop attending classes.

No university year would be complete without closures. In the previous 1981-82 academic year, BZU was shuttered for seven months. This year BZU made it through to June 5, when mobs of right wingers affiliated with the Islamic Bloc in Gaza attacked students on campus. Then the administration closed doors for a several-weeks-long cooling-off period.

Israeli authorities moved against Bethlehem University, March 9, with a four-week-long closure severely disrupting classes to pay students back for demonstrating against the presence of former US President Jimmy Carter in the town. Hebron University suffered worse. It was shut two days later for two months. Doors were only reopened after protacted attempts by Israel to impose an esciating scale of sanctions on the administration.

Al-Najah received top prize for most extended closure, however. After an anti-occupation anniversary demonstration on campus at the start of June, the military ordered the Nablus school closed until September 20. Officials say this has already delayed graduation and will cause huge problems at the beginning of the next semester.

The general terror of academic life is of course unchanged. Censorship and book-banning lists keep library shelves bare and hinder research. Unemployment facing graduates is causing growing concern. But as blackboards are dusted off for the next year, who will be allowed to teach and who will get to study is still questioned and questionable.

WEEKLY REVIEW

September 21, 1983

ASSASSINS MISSED

JERUSALEM — Jawdat Sawalha, temporary head of the Federation of Village Leagues, survived an assassination attempt last week. Although his car was destroyed in the armed attack against him on the Assirah-Nablus highway, he was not injured.

JABALYA RESTRICTED

GAZA — The Israeli authorities lifted the travel ban they had imposed on residents of Gaza who intended to travel to Egypt and Jordan. However, residents of Jabalya, with the exception of women, children and men over 60, are still prohibited from travelling.

CURFEW IN NABLUS

NABLUS — The Israeli military authorities curfewed central Nablus following a demonstration protesting US intervention in Lebanon. Demonstrators threw stones at Israeli vehicles and chanted pro-PLO slogans. They carried portraits of PLO Chief Yasir Arafat and hoisted Palestinian flags. The curfew was also extended to include the Balata Palestinian refugee camp.

TWO INJURED RELEASED

HEBRON — Two of the three members of the Shayukhi family who were injured in a grenade incident last week have now been released from Makassed hospital in Jerusalem. The third, Zayyad, is still in hospital, along with the fourth person, Ahmad Abu Sneineh, who was injured. Reports said they were in satisfactory condition.

SEVEN DAYS IN PRISON

JERUSALEM — The Israeli authorities have released three members, Yusef Queibi, Ribhi Shweiki and Mahmoud Hadieh, of the Thori Youth Club after a seven-day detention.

UNPAID HOLIDAY

RAMALLAH — Arab workers from Ramallah employed in Israeli factories were told not to report to work during Jewish Yom Kippur and Muslim *al-Adha* holidays. They were also informed they will not be paid for these days off.

IN COURT

RAMALLAH — Lawyers in the occupied territories estimated that almost 18,000 dunums of Arab land are in litigation to block their illegal transfer through forged land deeds.

The implementation of Military Order 1060 would cancel all these suits, they say, and transfer land ownership to those who applied to the recently established land registration offices in Maale Adumim, Beit El and Ariel settlements. The disputed land is located in Nablus, Ramallah and Hebron.

September 22, 1983

STUDENTS CAUGHT

GAZA — Some West Bank Arab universities are demanding that students who had been studying abroad and who have been prevented from resuming their studies provide evidence that they have been banned from travelling, if they expect to be admitted, according to sources in Gaza.

The universities stipulate that the documentary evidence should be obtained from the offices of the International Red Cross. However, the Red Cross office in Gaza made it clear that they do not deal in such matters.

HANOUN AGREES ON PHONES

TULKARM — Tulkarm Mayor Hilmi Hanoun has reached an agreement with the Israeli military authorities for the installation of an automatic telephone exchange in the town.

Hanoun met with the Israeli liaison officer in the West Bank recently and expressed the willingness of the municipality to participate in the venture. He said the municipality was prepared to provide premises near the town hospital what would house the new exchange.

Hebron telephone subscribers meanwhile have had bad lines for over a month. Communications ministry personnel attribute the disruption to a malfunction in the exchange equipment, and say they are "doing their best" to repair it.

SCOUTS TO UNITE

BEIT SAHOUR — Leaders of Arab scout groups in the West Bank and Gaza Strip convened a meeting here to discuss a proposal to unite the land's fragmented Palestinian scout movement.

STUDENT FURTHER REMANDED

JERUSALEM — The Israeli military court has refused an appeal to release Nidal Abu Lawi and has ordered his remand extended for a further seven-day period. Abu Lawi has been held in custody for over two months without charge. The youth, a student at Jordan's Yarmouk University, was arrested when he returned home to visit his relatives in Nablus.

HOUSE ARREST

HEBRON — The Israeli authorities sentenced 22-year-old student Fathi Arram, from Rafah, to six months house arrest.

Arram is a member of the Hebron Polytechnic Student Council. He was released from jail a month ago after serving a four-month detention on incitement charges.

MORE RED TAPE

GAZA — The 'civil administration' has notified Gaza's Islamic University that all Gazan employees must have valid work permits, issued by the Israeli authorities. The 'civil administration' also said it will not allow six Gazan lecturers to take up their duties at the university.

DOCTORS PENSION

JERUSALEM — West Bank doctors have set up an insurance and retirement fund that would ensure a steady income to subscribers. Membership is compulsory for all members of the West Bank medical profession, who are required to pay an annual premium of JD120.

Members can expect to receive a monthly stipend of JD120 per upon retirement under the terms of the fund.

RECONSIDERING EGYPT

JERUSALEM — The Israeli government is seriously considering closing down its tourist office in the Egyptian capital. Tourism Minister Avraham Sharir is expected to take a decision on the matter within a few days, according to an articles in the Egyptian magazine *October*.

Thousands gather on both sides of the line separating the Israeli-occupied Golan from Syria, September 23, to mark the death one week earlier of Druze national leader Sheikh Kamal Kanj.

September 23, 1983

KANJ MEMORIAL

GOLAN HEIGHTS — Thousands of Druze members on both sides of the fence separating the Israeli-occupied part of the Heights from Syria held services to commemorate the death, last week, of Druze nationalist fighter Sheikh Kamal Kanj.

Walid Jumblatt, leader of the Socialist Progressive Party in Lebanon, one of the speakers at the ceremony, told the assembled mourners that the war in Lebanon was not being fought in the Shouf only but all over the land.

He warned the Americans, French and Italians, whose troops make up the bulk of the multinational forces, not to interfere militarily in the fighting because they would be defeated.

The Israeli move comes in protest against the Egyptian government's policy of hindering nationals who wish to travel to Israel.

September 24, 1983

ALL OUT

JERUSALEM — Druze leaders called for a mass demonstration in front of the US Embassy in Tel Aviv at the beginning of next month if the US Marine contingent in Beirut does not halt its shelling of Lebanese nationalist positions in the Shouf.

The Druze also announced they are collecting funds for co-religionists for food and medical supplies.

WATER FROM ISRAEL

GAZA — The UN Relief Works Agency has invited residents of the camps in Gaza to link up with the Mekorot water grid. UNRWA officials said the Agency will stop pumping water from its own reservoirs and allow the Israeli water company to take over. Residents have been taken by surprise by the UNRWA decision and complain that this will in no way relieve the water shortage in the camps.

CITRUS NOW LEGAL

GAZA — The Israeli military authorities have countermanded an earlier decision banning publication of the annual report of the Association of Citrus Producers in Gaza. No definite publication date has been set, but it is believed the report will be available shortly.

TRAVEL BAN STILL ON

GAZA — Egyptian border officials continue to bar the entry of many Gaza residents into Egypt. Israel lifted a similar ban recently. Travellers say they are being subjected to meticulous searches and questionings, but no explanations are being volunteered for the reasons behind the ban on travel imposed on the majority of travellers.

GRAB MOVE

JERUSALEM — The Israeli authorities have notified the residents of the village of Soumou', in the Hebron district, of their intention to confiscate 50,000 dunums of village land.

Residents said the land designated for expropriation comprises the most fertile belt in the region. They said the authorities have given them 30 days in which to produce land ownership certificates. Arab lawyers charge this is a mere ploy; they say 30 days is not enough to enable the villagers to obtain the papers and the military authorities know this.

September 25, 1983

HAND GRENADE

NABLUS — Two Israeli soldiers and three Arabs were slightly injured when a hand grenade was thrown at city hall, Radio Israel said. The building is occupied by Israeli military personnel.

A curfew was imposed on the city and about 30 local residents were rounded up.

HOUSE ARREST

GAZA — The Israeli authorities put two lecturers at Gaza's Islamic University, Abd al-Aziz Odeh and Ramadan Sheih, under house arrest.

They are forbidden from leaving their homes between 6:00 pm and dawn and must report to the Gaza police station on a daily basis.

DOCTORS NEEDED

JERUSALEM — The Islamic Makassed (Charitable Society) Hospital on the Mount of Olives is advertising to employ interns for its expanded services.

AMERICANS VISIT UNIVERSITY

HEBRON — The US cultural attache in Jerusalem, representatives of US organisations and the Middle East Office for American Research, met with president of the Hebron University's board of trustees, Mohammed Rashed Ja'abari, to discuss plans for an agronomy college.

Reports said the US delegates were impressed and pledged to provide scholarships for Arab students to take up specialised studies in US universities.

'VICTORY' DESECRATED

JERUSALEM — A 28-year-old resident of Shu'fat camp, Hassan Gibron, was arrested on charges of vandalising a memorial for Israeli solders who lost their lives during the 1967 War. The memorial is located near the American Consulate on Nablus road, East Jerusalem.

SETTLERS MOVE IN

NABLUS — Some 25 Jewish families moved into the newly established Israeli settlement of Kiryat Netivim, in the Nablus mountains. The Israeli settlement committee's secretary said he expected hundreds of Jewish families to move in shortly.

PLO EMBASSY

SYDNEY — The Palestine Liberation Organisation office in Australia will be given embassy status, the Australian government announced. Cabinet approval came on request of Foreign Minister Hayden. They also agreed to allow the Arab League to open an information office in Australia.

RED CROSS ASKED TO VISIT

The PLO asked the Red Cross to visit Palestinian prisoners in Israel after it allowed the international organisation to meet with the six Israeli prisoners it held, a Palestinian official announced.

The official was quoted to have said negotiation regarding the exchange of prisoners is being done under Red Cross supervision only. He said the talks are moving well.

CLOSING SHOPS

NABLUS — Four shops were ordered shut down in Nablus for three months by the military authorities following a grenade attack on the municipal building over the weekend.

CHOLERA IN GAZA

GAZA — Two cholera cases were positively identified in Shafa' Hospital. The two persons are from Shajaieh area.

NISI BLOCK

The Israeli Supreme Court ordered the military governor of the West Bank to explain within one month why Israeli settlers have not been evacuated from the area designated for Emmanuel settlement. The order came after the Central Court in Nablus ruled in favor of two West Bank residents who own the property.

Othman Haroub and Dr Raja Elias Qumsieh were released from Bethlehem police station after frour days detention. They were held after customs officials raided their dental clinics in Bethlehem and ordered them to pay IS500,000 each as down payment for taxes.

The Bethlehem Dental Union protested to Mayor Freij, who promised to raise it with Israeli authorities.

NEW SETTLEMENT

TEL AVIV — The new settlement, Dolaf, eight kilometres north of Ramallah, will be the first in a series of settlements to be built in the coming two years between Ramallah and Nevi Souf, according to Israeli papers. Residents of the new settlement will work in agriculture, industry and 'academic research'.

Sixteen settlements have been built so far in Jerusalem and its environs since 1967, according to former mayor of Jerusalem Rawhi Khatib.

In a recent statement issued in Amman, Khatib said two more large settlements are still undergoing construction in Jerusalem. The number of settlers living in the settlements is 100,000, excluding those who live inside East Jerusalem itself.

NO MORE NOTEBOOKS

HEBRON — Refugee students in the first three elementary grades will no longer receive free copy-

issued a statement calling on the multinational forces to withdraw from Lebanon. In an extraordinary meeting to discuss the Middle East situation and Lebanon, the meeting secretary warned against American involvement in Lebanon.

CURFEW

RAMALLAH — A curfew was imposed for several hours September 26 on Jalazon refugee camp, following stone throwing at three Israeli buses which passed nearby. One of the drivers was injured by flying glass when stones broke front windows of the two buses.

September 27, 1983

SKILLED WORKERS LEAVING

BETHLEHEM — Heads of Palestinian companies, in a lecture sponsored by the College of Business Administration in Bethlehem University, complained that lack of skilled workers and unfair competition with Israeli products are hurting their businesses.

The four presidents said the constant emigration of skilled Palestinian workers is weakening Arab companies. They also said high taxes imposed on raw material brought across the bridges is putting extra burdens on them.

WATER FLOWS UP

TEL AVIV — The cost of water will increase, effective immediately, by six percent.

REMOVING REMAINS OF ARAB HOMES

TEL AVIV — Orders were given to remove the remains of Arab homes destroyed by Jewish settlers in Hebron. The Israeli High Court until recently banned any work in the area pending a court case. But this order was cancelled after an agreement between the appointed Israeli mayor of Hebron and the 'civil administration' to drop the court case begun by the dismissed Palestinian municipality.

LEAGUE BOOTY

HEBRON — The Israeli 'civil administration' in the West Bank received information that some Village League members collected huge sums of money in return for favours for local families, the Israel daily *Al Hamishmar* reported.

The head of the 'civil administration' office in Hebron, Samaul Sagal, ordered a senior official in the Village League to return two thousand Jordanian dinars he collected in return for helping a family get residency in the West Bank. Another citizen complained of similiar acts by League members, the paper added.

POLICE JAILED

JERUSALEM — A former police officer in Ramallah was sentenced to three years in prison by the Israeli military court. Ali Fouah Shabi was charged with accepting bribes and abusing his position.

MORE TO COME

David Levy, deputy prime minister of Israel, rejected any suggestion to stop building settlements in the West Bank in a speech at the inauguration of the ultra-religious Emmanual settlement near Nablus. Levy said having a government of national unity does not mean the Likud will abandon its settlement policies.

ANTI–WAR SOLDIERS

LONDON — Amnesty International is investigating the cases of five Israeli reservists who refused to fight in Lebanon and were imprisoned as a result.

A spokesman for the international organisation defending prisoners of conscience said he asked Amnesty members throughout the world to write the Israeli government demanding the release of the soldiers. He also requested that Israel explain its policy towards prisoners of conscience.

HONG KONG IN GAZA

GAZA — A delegation of Chinese businessmen from Hong Kong visited Gaza and studied possibilities of cooperation in the garment industry. The bussinessmen are considering a joint investment with Gaza businessmen to the sum of US$10 million.

The Baramki house in Jerusalem's Musrara neighbourhood. Built by architect Andoni Baramki as his own in 1934, it fell into Israeli hands during the 1948 war. After lying in disrepair for years, the house was recently turned into an Israeli war musuem. The architect's son finally entered his home this spring. For the full story see page 8. /ID

September 26, 1983

CURFEW LIFTED

NABLUS — A curfew on the Old City of Nablus was lifted, but Nablus residents were banned from travelling to Jordan.

DENTISTS ARRESTED

BETHLEHEM — Dr Khalil

books, UNRWA officials said.

The schools run by UNRWA are facing drastic cuts as part of the general cuts in the international organisation's budget. Copybooks were always provided to students free in the past.

CALL FOR WITHDRAWAL

DAMASCUS — The Secretary of the Arab People's Conference

ON, AGAIN

Jordanian authorities insist on forcing West Bank higher education students to take their comprehensive exam.

The education committee mandated to discuss the comprehensive exam in hope of cancelling it said after it returned from Amman that the previous promise by the Ministry of Education to cancel or postpone the exams has been rescinded. About 2100 students are boycotting the exam.

Jerusalem municipal funds have been used to restore 15 synagogues in the Jewish Quarter but not its one mosque... /JN.

A Quarter Times Four

by Nura Sus

Twice daily the Archaeological Seminar Inc., a for-profit organisation of Israeli archaeological buffs, pulls English-speaking tourists through the 'Jewish Quarter' of the Old City. The American guide — unquestionably a PhD from a good East Coast school — reels off the centuries of local history mixed so thoroughly with Zionist propaganda and anti-Arab racism that fact and fiction literally fuse together, into the poured concrete surroundings.

The present-day Jewish Quarter, the first Israeli settlement to be carved out of the Arab territories occupied in 1967, comprises one-sixth of the walled city of Jerusalem. It teeters above much of the Old City on 116 dunums of many layered civilisation. In the last 16 years, however, since Israel sent in bulldozers on the second day of the 1967 war to rearrange the area, the quarter's face has changed faster than in any other period of its 3000-year history.

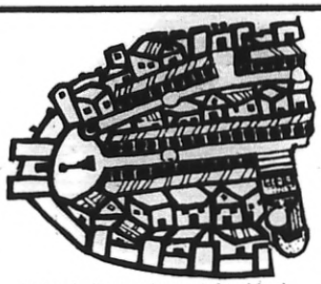
Only with the establishment of the state of Israel have areas of Palestine been made exclusively Jewish; and only under Israeli control of the Old City of Jerusalem has the Jewish Quarter been made into an only-Jewish ghetto, housing wealthy, ultra-religious Israelis on what could be the world's choicest real estate.

The area abuts the western wall of the Haram al-Sharif, which encircles al-Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock, for thirteen centuries the third most holy shrine of Islam. The western face of the Haram's wall, actually Muslim *waqf* property, became a Zionist political-religious symbol gradually and purposefully over the last 100 years. The Wailing Wall, now widened and lengthened, has been politically used by Zionists to stake claim to land before it — the Magharibah and Jewish Quarters — and beyond it — the Haram, the site of the second Jewish temple and, ultra-Zionists envision, the site for a third temple as well.

Arab historian A.L. Tibawi writes that the son of the great Saladin set aside the land next to the wall for Islamic pilgrims and scholars from North Africa in 1193, giving it its name, Magharibeh. In 1839 their religious sheikh suspected that the Jews' sudden desire to pave the ancient passageway was a prelude to expansionist aims in the area. As *waqf* property, the Magharibeh houses could not be sold to non-Muslims, which greatly hindered Zionist leadership plans for an entrenchment next to the few metres of visible wall. Chaim Weizmann complained to Lord Balfour that the Wailing Wall was in the hands of "some doubtful Mughreb religious community" and that it should be handed over to the Zionists who would "compensate this community very liberally."

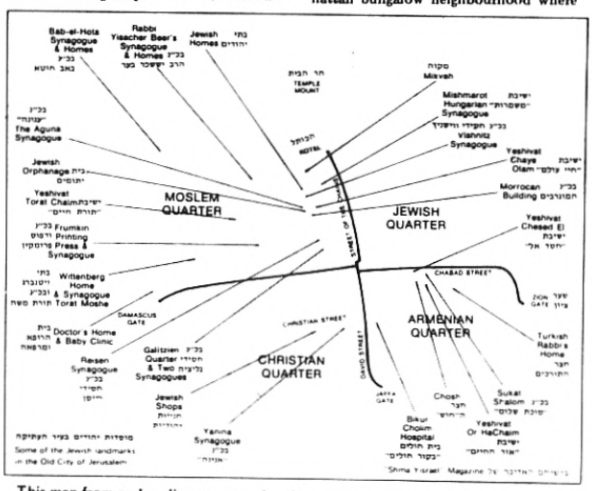
Exactly fifty years later, on June 11, 1967, the 1000 Palestinian inhabitants of the 700-year-old quarter were evicted and their homes and institutions were flattened moments later. Israeli government publications called the Magharibeh residents "squatters" and the quarter "slums." But the rhetoric disguised the intention: to make the wall a suitable tourist site and to remove all trace of Palestinian presence from the immediate surroundings.

Since 1967, the Israeli government, through the Jerusalem municipality, has encroached into the Old City, widening and extending its presence even outside the Jewish quarter by any of a number of pretexts: a building that once housed a Jewish physician becomes an Israeli shrine, a Jewish-owned printing press, school or orphanage become buildings that must be 'reclaimed' for Jews only. It is the same kind of manifest destiny that propells Zionist settlement in another Arab centre — Hebron. The Jewish Quarter was confiscated *en masse*, and proceeded by a building-by-building takeover in other areas. Some Mameluke era Islamic buildings have been made to collapse by purposely sloppy excavations nearby or directly underneath — the ancient Fakhriyah Hospice, for one, fell to Israeli diggers who wanted to 'clear' 82 metres of the wall. Al-Tankiziyah School, at the northern edge of the wall, was confiscated months after 1967 on the excuse that bombs were discovered near Chain Gate.



Two years after it began its occupation of the West Bank, the Israeli government set up "The Company for the Reconstruction and Development of the Jewish Quarter of Jerusalem" to demolish, excavate and build a Jewish quarter. Its first mandate, according to a government brochure, was "to cope with the interlopers and squatters." Although having "not (the) least legal standing, large sums were paid out to them after orderly negotiations, which amply financed them to acquire modern flats in the suburbs. A survey has shown that not a family but bettered its standard of living by this removal from what had been made a slum." The Palestinian families in question — old Jerusalem families who had lived there for generations — became refugees and were moved to Shufat camp, originally built by Jordan as a resettlement camp on Jerusalem's outskirts.

The Israelis maintain that from 1948 to 1967 the Jewish quarter was rubble, neglected by Jordan. Today, the 'recreated' quarter resembles a Manhattan bungalow neighbourhood where three-bedroom flats can be had for $100,000 — double that for a view of the wall. The Development Company's accountant, whose headquarters in the Rothschild House was once a charity house, estimates that half of the cost of constructing the quarter was government grant and half recovered through the sale of apartments: a minimum of $1,200,000,000 to house 600 families. It is the second most expensive area of Jerusalem, trailing only Begin's in affluence. Two-thirds of the families are religious and half this number are of the extreme Agudat Haradim. Of the three schools in the neighbourhood, accountant Unger says, "one is religious, one is non-religious and one is extreme." In addition, there are 10 shops for settlers and 100 for tourists, four or five kindergartens, 12 synagogues and a generous sprinkling of carefully exposed archaeological underpinnings used for the Zionist claim to the quarter. Although few of the buildings that stood in 1948 survived the Israeli bulldozers, there are also two *waqf* (Islamic trust) structures; one is a mosque in obvious disrepair and the other, the Development Company representative could not remember. There is also, somewhere about, the remains of 5th century and 12th century churches — and a 20th century laundromat.



This map from an Israeli government brochure stakes out future claims for the expansion of the Jewish Quarter.

The gardeners, the construction workers, the garbage men, even a contractor working for the Jewish Development Corp., are all Palestinians, looking as out of place as olive trees in an artificial flower arrangement. One young worker, dispassionately watering a days-old garden, wears a big brass JERUSALEM on his belt.

Redevelopment engineer Itshak Vitalis, when asked about the company's future plans, looks around and says uncomfortably, "We have finished. We have no more land left on which to build." They have no plans to renovate the other (still Palestinian occupied) areas of the neglected Old City, according to Vitalis, because "the people resist... they like to live like donkeys."

The contrast between the new Jewish quarter settlement and other quarters of the Old City could not be greater. The water, sewage and electricity lines installed for the 600 settler families played havoc with the aged and inadequate systems elsewhere in the walled city. Palestinian residents, of course, paid for the settlement in their midst with heavy taxes while dirt roads and broken stone still mark areas where they live.

I leave the Jewish Quarter feeling sad — three encounters articulate my feelings better than I can:

1) A poster of an ariel view of Jerusalem is taped to the window of an ultra-religious Zionist club. A familiar decoration in Israeli settlements, the poster depicts a Third Temple superimposed on and completely obliterating the Islamic Dome of the Rock. I realise that throughout the tour, the Haram area has been referred to not by what is there but by what is not there: "the Temple Mount." I fully expect the Dome of the Rock to be 'removed' by bomb, excavation or bulldozer in the not too distant future.

2) I stop a be-shorted, be-spectacled, tenni-shoed young man with a shock of blond hair who looks at home in the quarter, and ask what the Jewish quarter means to him. I expect an emotional reply but find an emotion of another sort. "I'm just a tourist," he says. "I think this place was built to tell the world they're staying here. But it is just buildings. They are a little crazy, the people here." "What do you mean?" "I saw someone wearing a shirt: *Send the Arabs to Jordan.*"

3) And finally, I stop to ask directions of three young men who are standing in an open square next to the quarter's 'religious' bank. One of the three explains he cannot give directions because he is not "from here..." or actually he *is* from here, that's why he can't give directions. "I am from Jerusalem, but unless I walked here I wouldn't know this is Jerusalem. I feel a stranger in my own city. Look at what they've done...My brother used to go to school here."